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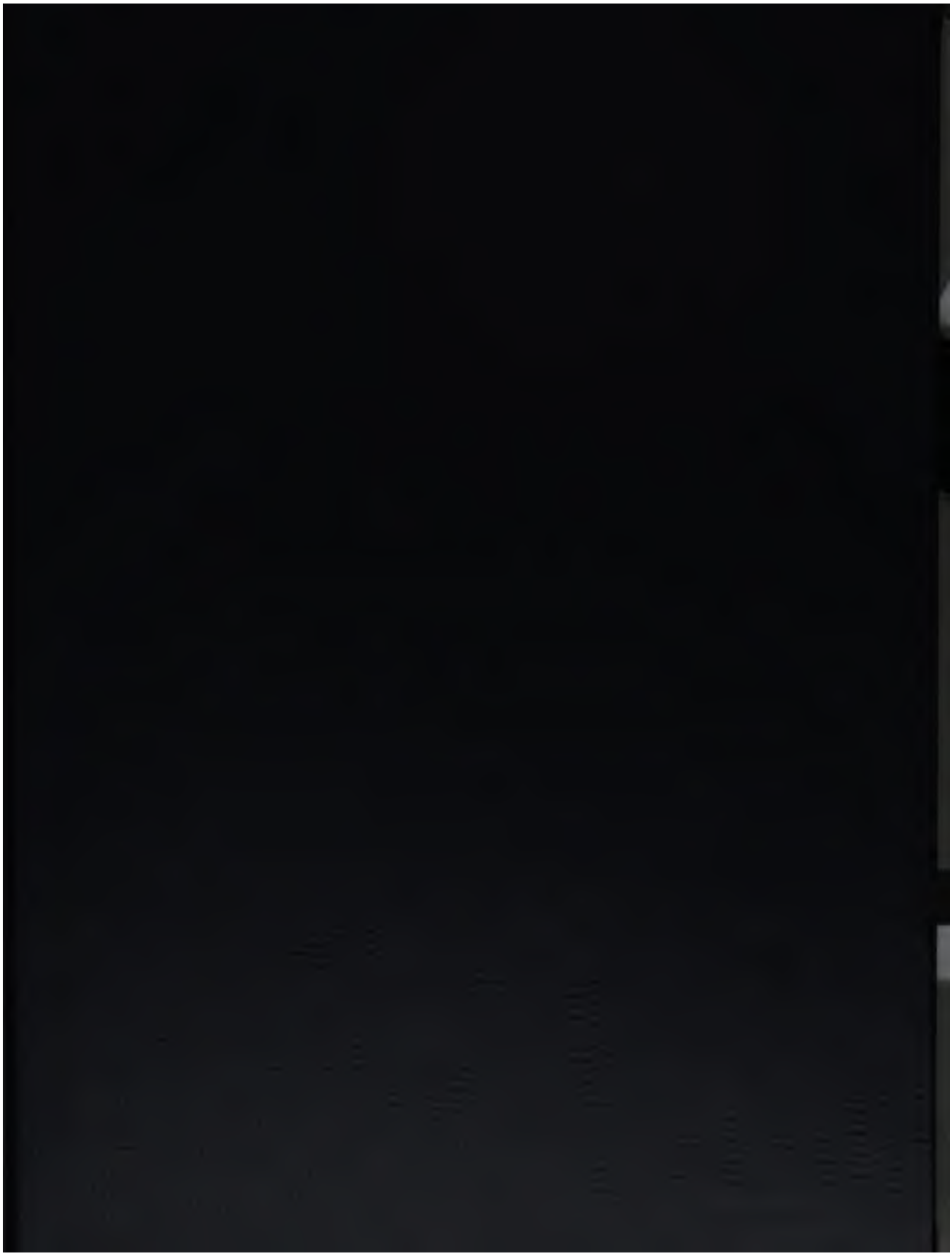

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MEMOIRS

OF

COLONEL HUTCHINSON.

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COLONEL HUTCHINSON

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

COLONEL HUTCHINSON

GOVERNOR OF NOTTINGHAM

BY HIS WIDOW LUCY

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

BY THE REV. JULIUS HUTCHINSON

TO WHICH ARE ADDED THE LETTERS OF COLONEL HUTCHINSON AND OTHER PAPERS

REVISED WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES

BY C. H. FIRTH, M.A.

With Ten Etched Portraits of Eminent Personages

IN TWO VOLUMES

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LIST OF ETCHED PORTRAITS.

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INTRODUCTION.

None of the memoirs which relate to the troubled history of the English civil wars have obtained a greater popularity or been more widely read than this Life of Col. Hutchinson, by his wife. Since the first publication of this book it has been many times reprinted, and it has also been translated into French.[1] Yet these different editions have been mere reprints of the edition of 1806, nor has any attempt been made either to supplement the annotations of the original editor, or to collect the scattered letters of Col. Hutchinson. The aim of the present edition is to bring together the documents which relate to the subject of these Memoirs, in order to illustrate and explain them, and, so far as possible, to estimate their value and authority.

[1] London, 1806, 4to; 1808, 4to; 1810, 2 vols. 8vo; 1822, 2 vols. 8vo; 1846, 1 vol. post 8vo, Bohn's Standard Library; 1845, in the Travellers' Library; translated in Guizot's "Collection des Mémoires relatifs à la Révolution d'Angleterre," with a valuable preface; London, 1880, Bell, post 8vo, tenth edition.

The Reverend Julius Hutchinson, in publishing the first edition, gave the following account of the manner in which the manuscript of the Memoirs came into his hands. "The Memoirs of the Life of Col. Hutchinson had been seen by many persons, as well as the editor, in the possession of the late Thomas Hutchinson, Esquire, of Owthorpe, in Nottinghamshire, and of Hatfield Woodhall, in Hertfordshire; and he had been frequently solicited to permit them to be published, particularly by the late Mrs. Catherine Macaulay, but had uniformly refused. This gentleman dying without issue, the editor, his nephew, inherited some part of his estates which were left unsold, including his mansion-house of Hatfield Woodhall. In the library he found the following books written by Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson: —1st. The Life of Col. Hutchinson. 2d. A book without a title, but which appears to have been a kind of diary which she had kept, and afterwards made use of when she came to write the Life of Col. Hutchinson. 3d. A fragment giving an account of the early part of her own life. This book clearly appears to have been Mrs. Hutchinson's first essay at composition, and contains, besides the story of her life and family, several short copies of verses, some finished, some unfinished, many of which are above mediocrity. 4th. Two books treating entirely of religious subjects; in which,

although the fancy may be rather too much indulged, the judgment still maintains the ascendency, and sentiments of exalted piety, liberality, and benevolence are delivered in terms apposite, dignified, and perspicuous."

These works, continues the editor, had all been carefully read and annotated by Julius Hutchinson, father of the Thomas Hutchinson mentioned above, and remarks which Lady Catherine Hutchinson (his grandmother, the second wife of Sir Thomas Hutchinson and stepmother of Col. Hutchinson) had communicated to him had been occasionally inserted in the form of notes. From these sources he had derived material for some of his own notes.

Of the works mentioned in this list, numbers one and three were published by the Rev. Julius Hutchinson under the title of Memoirs of the Life of Col. Hutchinson; number four was also published by him in 1817, under the title of Principles of the Christian Religion; and number two is now in the possession of the British Museum (MSS. Adds. 25,901), though it is unfortunately a fragment, a portion of it having been lost or destroyed. The portion preserved embraces the period extending from October 1642 to February 1645, but the dialogue relating to the attempt to seize the Nottinghamshire powder magazine, which the Rev. Julius Hutchinson gives in a footnote, is

not contained in this portion, though it appears from a line or two on the first page of the manuscript to have immediately preceded it. The manuscript is thus described in a pencil note by Charles Hutchinson, youngest son of the Rev. Julius. "This MS. commences about page 105 of the quarto edition of the Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson, but it differs from the printed Memoirs in many particulars, generally but not always entering more at length into statements and circumstances. The MS. is probably Mrs. Hutchinson's earlier sketch or journal of events, since the editor of the Memoirs, who had all Mrs. Hutchinson's MSS. in his possession, has followed one differing from this."

Mr. Charles Hutchinson is right in terming this volume the first sketch of the Memoirs, but it can hardly be called a journal. It is an account of events in chronological order, but the blanks frequently left for dates seem to show that it was written some little time after the events described in it.

The narrative given in the Note-Book, as it may be termed, is frequently repeated word for word in the published Memoirs, and in most cases is substantially the same. But the Note-Book gives the names of persons and places when the Memoirs do not, and particularises when the Memoirs generalise. I have inserted most of these particular

mentions of persons and places in the notes. Occasionally the Note-Book supplies detailed accounts of occurrences only casually mentioned in the Memoirs. As some of these passages throw considerable light on the character of Col. Hutchinson, and the history of the civil war in Nottinghamshire, I have given several longer extracts in the Appendix.

I have not thought it necessary to reprint the narrative of Col. Hutchinson's arrest and imprisonment, which he wrote whilst in the Tower, and succeeded in getting printed before he was removed to Sandown Castle. It was reprinted in the third volume of the Harleian Miscellany, and is therefore easily accessible. Moreover it was evidently before the eyes of Mrs. Hutchinson when she wrote the Memoirs, and is copied by her in them with merely verbal changes. The narrative itself, tested by the documents relating to the subject amongst the Domestic State Papers, is perfectly accurate.

The Appendix contains also a collection of letters by Col. Hutchinson and some of the other persons mentioned in the book, gathered from the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library, and from newspapers and pamphlets of the time. To these are added his petitions to the two Houses of Parliament at the Restoration, the one to the House of Commons

from the State Paper Office, that to the Lords from the papers of the House of Lords.

By means of this Note-Book, and by the aid of the documents in the Appendix, it is possible to estimate more exactly the degree of credit due to the Memoirs, and to the account of events given in them by Mrs. Hutchinson. It is not possible to ascertain the exact date at which the Memoirs were composed, but it can be fixed approximately. Mrs. Hutchinson relates that at the time of the colonel's arrest Captain Wright and Lieutenant Franck were also arrested and brought to Newark, "where they are yet prisoners, and to this day know not why" (Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 287). Mr Bailey, in his Annals of Nottinghamshire, points out that as Captain Wright was arraigned before Judge Hale at the King's Bench on July the 7th, 1671, and then discharged for lack of evidence, the Memoirs must obviously have been written between that date and the date of Col. Hutchinson's death. Mrs. Hutchinson commenced writing the Memoirs almost immediately after the death of her husband, for the purpose of describing his life and character for the information and example of his children. "While I am studying which way to moderate my woe, and if it were possible to augment my love, I can for the present find out none more just to your dear father, nor consolatory to myself than the preserva-

tion of his memory." She goes on to represent herself as "desiring, if my treacherous memory have not lost the dearest treasure ever I committed to its trust, to relate to you his holy, virtuous, honourable life."

To this great object all other aims were subordinate. She neither desired to reveal the secret springs of events, nor to give a picture of the times, but when it appeared necessary to explain her husband's position or the progress of events in Nottinghamshire, she did not shrink from narrating public affairs. On these occasions Mrs. Hutchinson generally explains the object of her digression from the proper subject of her story. "Here," she writes, when she begins her description of the state of England in 1642, "here I must make a short digression from our particular actions to sum up the state of the kingdom at that time, which, though I cannot do exactly, I can truly relate what I was then able to take notice of; but I shall only mention what is necessary to be related for the better carrying on of my purpose" (vol. i. p. 98).

And again, "It being necessary to carry on the main story for the better understanding the motion of those lesser wheels that moved within the great orb, I shall but name in what posture things were abroad in the kingdom while these affairs I relate were

transacted at Nottingham" (vol. i. p. 210). These digressions on public affairs appear to have been later additions to the original sketch of her husband's life drawn up by Mrs. Hutchinson; at least in the fragmentary Note-Book before referred to, which extends from 1642 to 1644, they are absent. For the substance of her accounts of public affairs, Mrs. Hutchinson mainly relies on the authority of May, making use both of his History of the Parliament, and his Breviary of the History of the Parliament of England. She pronounces Mr. May's history to be "impartially true, so far as he hath carried it on, saving some little mistakes in his own judgment, and misinformations which some vain people gave of the State, and more indulgence to the king's guilt than can justly be allowed" (vol. i. p. 136). Accordingly she follows May's account of the campaigns of 1642 and 1643, sometimes echoing his phrases, and even copying his error in making the queen land at Sunderland. She takes much the same view of the policy of James I. and the earlier part of the reign of Charles I., and quotes with approval a remark of May's about the Duke of Buckingham. On some questions, however, she was better informed than May. For instance, in her account of the Short Parliament she gives the true cause of its dissolution, when May does not. "The king," she states,

"suffered it to sit but 21 days, and broke it up again, apprehending that if he had suffered them to sit a day longer they would have voted against the war with Scotland, which he was violently bent to prosecute."

Mrs. Hutchinson mentions also amongst her authorities the printed papers of the Parliament, which she had no doubt studied with her husband. She tells us that he "applied himself to understand the things then in dispute, and read all the public papers that came forth between the king and Parliament, besides many other private treatises, both concerning the present and foregoing times."

It was from these authorities she gathered her general conception of the questions at issue when the civil wars broke out, and the materials for her general survey of England in 1640. But she made no attempt to imitate May's impartiality; indeed, as we have seen, she even blames him for it. Nor does she hesitate to echo the most odious of the charges which contemporary libellers brought against James I. and the Duke of Buckingham. Still on the whole, so far as her knowledge extends, she is truthful and accurate. Her account of the civil war in Nottinghamshire especially is confirmed in almost every point by the evidence of newspapers, letters, and State papers. Mr. Bailey in his "Annals of Nottinghamshire" attempted to disprove Mrs.

Hutchinson's account of the attempt to seize the powder of the county, and expressed his disbelief in the story of the offers made by the Marquis of Newcastle to induce Col. Hutchinson to surrender Nottingham ("Annals of Nottinghamshire," vol. ii. pp. 650, 971). I have tried to show that the first of these doubts is based on a misunderstanding of the text, and the second is sufficiently refuted by the correspondence of the chief actors (*vide* Vol. I., Appendix IV. and XIX.) A writer in "Notes and Queries" (July 19, 1884) has pointed out what seems to be an extraordinary mistake in Mrs. Hutchinson's account of her mother, in the earlier part of the Memoirs. On the other hand, a full confirmation of the remarkable story told about Sir Thomas Hutchinson and Sir Germaine Poole, is to be found in a letter from Chamberlain to Carleton ("Court and Times of James I.," vol. i. p. 231.) The sketches given in the Memoirs of the characters of Col. Hutchinson's opponents in the Nottingham Committee are naturally extremely prejudiced, but many of the statements made in them are borne out by independent evidence. Several of the charges brought against Sir John Gell and Colonel Chadwick are thus confirmed. The accusation of atheism brought against Dr. Plumptre, which Mr. Bailey asserts to be a groundless slander, was generally accepted as true. Gervase Holles, writing in

1658, describing the last illness of the Earl of Clare in 1637, says that Plumptre was accounted the best physician in Nottingham, "otherwise a professed atheist." Many of the other statements made concerning these personages are also incidentally confirmed; and it should be remembered that Lord Fairfax, the Derby House Committee, and the House of Commons, all substantially agreed in deciding for the governor against the committee of Nottingham. Still it must be admitted that Mrs. Hutchinson frequently exaggerates the part played by her husband in public events, and even in less important transactions. The share she assigns to him in the resistance to the Scotch invasion in 1651 is an instance of the former, and her accounts of the capture of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the saving of Sir John Owen, illustrate the latter. In the Memoirs she omits certain facts she had recorded in her Note-Book, which appeared to her on further consideration unfavourable to her husband's character,—such as the story of his insulting message to Sir Roger Cooper, and his torturing of the spies from Newark. When she comes to speak of her husband's escape at the Restoration, Mrs. Hutchinson conceals much of the truth, and misrepresents many of the facts. Col. Hutchinson owed his escape at the Restoration to what the Journals of the House of Commons term

his "signal repentance," and to the exertions of his friends on his behalf. They were able to plead with truth his recent exertions against Lambert's party, to which they added a number of good-natured fictions about earlier actions in favour of the Royalist cause during the Protectorate. Ludlow, however, who states that Col. Hutchinson "having joined in Monk's treacherous design, had obtained a pardon from the king whilst he was beyond sea," makes far too much of the slight services Hutchinson could have rendered Monk, and his statement about the pardon is certainly erroneous. Mrs. Hutchinson puts into her husband's mouth an extremely guarded expression of regret for the king's death, and even speaks of his "not answering the Court expectations in public recantations and dissembled repentance." But no more abject expression of penitence, no more humble and dishonouring petition for life could be uttered than Col. Hutchinson's letter to the Speaker, which was publicly read in the House of Commons. Mrs. Hutchinson states that she contrived and wrote this letter, signed with her husband's name, and ventured to send it to the Speaker, "being used sometimes to write the letters he dictated, and her character not much differing from his." This is confirmed by the fact that the letter in question found its way into the State Paper Office through

being sent by Sir Allen Apsley to Secretary Bennet as a specimen of Mrs. Hutchinson's handwriting.

At first Mrs. Hutchinson tells us her husband was desirous of being made a public sacrifice, but she prevailed with him to retire, wrought with him not to deliver himself up, and finally devised this expedient to save him against his will. "She who thought she had never deserved so well of him as in the endeavours and labours she exercised to bring him off, never displeased him more in her life, and had much ado to persuade him to be contented with this deliverance." Unfortunately the existence of a second petition, that to the House of Lords, dated six weeks later, seems to prove that Col. Hutchinson's share in this matter was not confined to the passive and silent acceptance of his wife's expedient. It was probably the knowledge of these recantations which caused the suspicion with which Col. Hutchinson's old fellow-soldiers regarded him, and led in 1663 to the rumour that he had betrayed them. This explains also the expressions used by Algernon Sidney regarding him. "If I could write and talk like Col. Hutchinson or Sir Gilbert Pickering," he says in a letter dated Aug. 30, 1660, "I believe I might be quiet. Contempt might procure my safety, but I had rather be a vagabond all my life than buy my being in my own country at so dear a rate." Col. Hutchinson soon repented

of his conduct. "When the colonel saw how the other gentlemen were trepanned that were brought in by proclamation . . . he looked upon himself as judged in their judgment and executed in their execution; and although he was most thankful to God, yet he was not well satisfied in himself for accepting the deliverance." He must have shared also the feelings of the unhappy prisoners described by Mrs. Hutchinson, "a thousand times more miserable than those that died, who were thereby preserved from the eternal infamy and remorse, which hope of life and estate made these poor men bring upon themselves, by base and false recantations of their own judgment, against their consciences" (ii. 257).

Thus, "whilst he saw others suffer he suffered in his mind." In the depression which the ruin of the cause, and the apostacy of so many of his old associates, had produced in him, he had doubted the justice of the cause. Now, "he again reflected seriously upon all that was past," and "examined the cause from the first," and "set himself to a more diligent study of the Scriptures," and was confirmed in his old principles. Finally, he came to believe that he had been preserved for some Divine purpose, "that he was yet kept for some eminent service or suffering in this cause" (ii. 262–264). In this temper he lived, "in silence and retiredness,"

longing for the time to come when he should be free from the obligations which the clemency of the government had imposed upon him. So when he was again arrested, "it was the happiest release in the world to him." For before, although he had made no express engagement, yet, in regard his life and estate had been freely left him, he thought himself obliged to sit still all the while this king reigned, whatever opportunity he might have; but now he thought this usage had utterly disobliged him from all ties either of honour or conscience, and that he was free to act as prudence should hereafter lead him, and thought not his liberty out of prison worth the purchase of any future engagement, which would again fetter him in obligations to such persons as every day more and more manifested themselves enemies to all just and godly interests. He therefore charged his wife that she should not make applications to any person whatsoever, and made it his earnest request to Sir Allen Apsley to let him stand and fall to his own innocency, and to undertake nothing for him, which, if he did, he told him he would disown. Mrs. Hutchinson, remembering how much she had displeased him in saving him before, submitted now to suffer with him according to his own will" (ii. 313).

Thus Col. Hutchinson sought to redeem his former weakness, and, by patiently suffering for the

cause he had denied and disowned, to regain the right to defend it. The story of his recantation is incomplete without the story of his expiation. To some it may appear that the cowardice of his conduct in 1660 no subsequent repentance, endurance, or courage could outweigh. Others will rather sympathise with his struggles, and admire his final victory. "I count not each man valiant that dares die," says a Puritan poet.

> "Give me that heart which in itself doth war
> With many frailties (who like traitors are
> In some besieged fort), and hath to do
> With outward foes and inward terrors too;
> Yet of himself and them a conquest makes,
> And still proceeds in what he undertakes."

How long Mrs. Hutchinson survived her husband is uncertain. It is possible to gather from her other writings some little information to add to the fragment of autobiography prefixed to the Memoirs. We see her in 1670 struggling bravely with the pecuniary difficulties which the civil wars had brought upon the Hutchinson family. We can gather also from her own words to her daughter that she had to contend with family troubles of another kind. "My infirmities and imperfections," she complains, "joined with my outward ill-successes, have much weakened my authority, and made it of no force with all persons." The preface to her translation of Lucretius, given in the Appendix,

and the two religious treatises, printed in 1817, supply a few interesting glimpses of her life and her opinions. The translation of Lucretius was written in her "vainly curious youth," in the time when she "was not convinced of the vanity of conversation which was not scandalously wicked," and had not opened her eyes to "the sin of amusing herself with such vain philosophy." She had heard the doctrines of Epicurus and the atomic theory talked of, and out of curiosity and the desire to instruct herself read and translated the six books of the De Rerum Natura. "I turned it into English in a room where my children practised the several qualities they were taught with their tutors, and I numbered the syllables of my translation by the threads of the canvas I wrought in, and set them down with a pen and ink that stood by me." In 1675 Mrs. Hutchinson presented this translation, at his own request, to Arthur Annesley, Earl of Anglesea. But by this time she had grown more rigid in her views, and repented ever occupying herself in such studies. In the dedication to the work she entreats the Earl "to conceal it as a shame," hopes it may never become known, and expresses her hatred and contempt for all the heathen philosophers. All their writings show the vanity of earthly wisdom, and the powerlessness of human reason to attain to the knowledge of

things divine. Lucretius himself she terms an atheist and a lunatic and refers to him as "this dog." There is much in her general judgment of the Greek and Roman philosophers that reminds one of the opinions expressed by Milton in the fourth book of "Paradise Regained." She herself expresses the same views more at length in her two theological treatises when she comes to discuss the question of natural and revealed religion. In these two works, probably her last, she displays a very wide range of reading, and quotes not only theological writers, but classical authors also. Besides Pocockianus and Rabbi David Kimchi, Juvenal and Horace, Sallust and Cicero, Epictetus and Euripides are all laid under contribution, nor is Chaucer forgotten. Her object, however, was merely to instruct her daughter. "I write," she says, "not for the press, but to imprint on your heart the characters I have received of God." These principles of the Christian religion she commands her daughter to instil into her family. "Exercise your own knowledge therein by instructing your children and servants, for I assure you I have by that means learnt more than by all my hearing and study, having found the Lord to open my own understanding, and to warm my heart, while I conscientiously laboured to communicate the light He gave me."

She goes on to explain, in words which ought to

vindicate her from the charge of want of modesty which Guizot brings against her, that it is particularly necessary for women to be well grounded in the faith. "The Apostle reproaches the weakness of our sex more than the other, when, speaking of the prevalency of seducers, he says they lead about silly women, who are ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth; therefore every wise and holy woman ought to watch strictly over herself that she become not one of these; but as our sex, through ignorance and weakness of judgment, which in the most knowing women is inferior to the masculine understanding of men, are apt to entertain fancies, and be pertinacious in them, so we ought to watch over ourselves in such a day as this, and embrace nothing rashly; but, as our own imbecility is made known to us, to take heed of presumption in ourselves, and to lean by faith upon the strength of the Lord, and to beg His protection, that we may not be led into error."

Thus, in the investigation of religious and theological questions, Mrs. Hutchinson occupied herself during the last years of her life; we see her, "in a drolling and degenerate age, that hath hissed out all sober and serious studies," ever anxious to learn and to teach, but falling more and more under the influence of a narrowing creed, a type of Puritanism alike in her strength and her weakness.

In this edition the spelling of the original has been modernised, and some alterations have been made in the punctuation. In other respects the text is unchanged. As Mrs. Hutchinson occasionally spells the name of the same person in two or three different ways, the method of spelling used by the persons themselves has been, when possible, adopted. The notes added to the text by the Rev. Julius Hutchinson are distinguished by the letters J. H.; for the rest of the notes and for the index the present editor is responsible.

THE LIFE

OF

MRS. LUCY HUTCHINSON,

WRITTEN BY HERSELF.

A FRAGMENT.

THE Almighty Author of all beings,[1] in his various providences, whereby he conducts the lives of men from the cradle to the tomb, exercises no less wisdom and goodness than he manifests power and greatness, in their creation; but such is the stupidity of blind mortals, that instead of employing their studies in these admirable books of providence, wherein God daily exhibits to us glorious characters of his love, kindness, wisdom, and justice, they

[1] That noble turn of thought which led Mrs. Hutchinson to open her work with thanks to her Maker, instead of apologies to the readers, besides the claim it has to their respect instead of their indulgence, will probably by its originality recommend itself, and prevent the distaste which the air of religion it wears might give to many, in times

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ungratefully regard them not, and call the most wonderful operations of the great God the common accidents of human life, especially if they be such as are usual, and exercised towards them in ages wherein they are not very capable of observation, and whereon they seldom employ any reflection; for in things great and extraordinary, some, perhaps, will take notice of God's working, who either forget or believe not that he takes as well a care and account of their smallest concernments, even the hairs of their heads.

Finding myself in some kind guilty of this general neglect, I thought it might be a means to stir up my thankfulness for things past, and to encourage my faith for the future, if I recollected as much as I have heard or can remember of the passages of my youth, and the general and particular providences exercised to me, both in the entrance and progress of my life.[1] Herein I meet with so

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when it is so little in fashion. It should be borne in mind that the usage of the times in which it was written was so very different from the present, that those who wish to read with pleasure the works then written, will do well to set their taste according to that standard.

Through the whole of both these works, moral and religious reflections will be seen to abound, but so as neither to confuse nor fetter, but rather elevate the mind.—J. H.

[1] The purpose of this sketch of her own life is here stated by Mrs. Hutchinson, viz., to call to recollection the

many special indulgences as require a distinct consideration, they being all of them to be regarded as talents intrusted to my improvement for God's glory. The parents by whom I received my life, the places where I began and continued it, the time when I was brought forth to be a witness of God's wonderful workings in the earth, the rank that was given me in my generation, and the advantages I received in my person, each of them carries along with it many mercies which are above my utterance, and as they give me infinite cause of glorifying God's goodness, so I cannot reflect on them without deep humiliation for the small improvement I have made of so rich a stock; which, that I may yet by God's grace better employ, I shall recall and seriously ponder: and, first, as far as I have since learnt, set down the condition of things in the place of my nativity, at that time when I was sent into the world. It was on the 29th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1619–20, that in the Tower of London, the principal city of the English isle, I was, about four of the clock in the morning, brought forth to behold

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passages of her youth, and "the general and particular providences" exercised to her. The first of these providences is the place of her birth (pp. 3–9); the second is the time of her birth (pp. 9–10); the third is her parentage (pp. 11–22). The last three pages (pp. 22–26) are devoted to the passages of her youth.

the ensuing light. My father was Sir Allen Apsley, lieutenant of the Tower of London; my mother, his third wife, was Lucy, the youngest daughter of Sir John St. John, of Lidiard Tregooze, in Wiltshire, by his second wife. My father had then living a son and a daughter by his former wives, and by my mother three sons, I being her eldest daughter. The land was then at peace (it being towards the latter end of the reign of King James), if that quietness may be called a peace, which was rather like the calm and smooth surface of the sea, whose dark womb is already impregnated with a horrid tempest.

Whoever considers England, will find it no small favour of God to have been made one of its natives, both upon spiritual and outward accounts. The happiness of the soil and air contribute all things that are necessary to the use or delight of man's life. The celebrated glory of this isle's inhabitants, ever since they received a mention in history, confers some honour upon every one of her children, and with it an obligation to continue in that magnanimity and virtue, which hath famed this island, and raised her head in glory higher than the great kingdoms of the neighbouring continent. Britain hath been as a garden enclosed, wherein all things that man can wish, to make a pleasant life, are planted and grow in her own soil, and whatsoever foreign countries yield, to increase admiration and delight, are brought in by her fleets. The people,

by the plenty of their country, not being forced to toil for bread, have ever addicted themselves to more generous employments, and been reckoned, almost in all ages, as valiant warriors as any part of the world sent forth: insomuch, that the greatest Roman captains thought it not unworthy of their expeditions, and took great glory in triumphs for imperfect conquests. Lucan upbraids Julius Cæsar for returning hence with a repulse, and it was two hundred years before the land could be reduced into a Roman province, which at length was done, and such of the nation, then called Picts, as scorned servitude, were driven into the barren country of Scotland, where they have ever since remained, a perpetual trouble to the successive inhabitants of this place. The Britons, that thought it better to work for their conquerors in a good land, than to have the freedom to starve in a cold or barren quarter, were by degrees fetched away, and wasted in the civil broils of these Roman lords, till the land, almost depopulated, lay open to the incursions of every borderer, and were forced to call a stout warlike people, the Saxons, out of Germany, to their assistance. These willingly came at their call, but were not so easily sent out again, nor persuaded to let their hosts inhabit with them, for they drove the Britons into the mountains of Wales, and seated themselves in those pleasant countries which from the new masters received a new name,

and ever since retained it, being called England; and on which the warlike Dane made many attempts, with various success, but after about two or three hundred years' vain contest, they were for ever driven out, with shame and loss, and the Saxon Heptarchy melted into a monarchy, which continued till the superstitious prince, who was sainted for his ungodly chastity, left an empty throne to him that could seize it. He who first set up his standard in it, could not hold it, but with his life left it again for the Norman usurper, who partly by violence, partly by falsehood, laid here the foundation of his monarchy in the people's blood, in which it hath swum about five hundred years, till the flood that bore it was ploughed into such deep furrows as had almost sunk the proud vessel. Of those Saxons that remained subjects to the Norman conqueror, my father's family descended; of those Normans that came in with him, my mother's was derived; both of them, as all the rest in England, contracting such affinity, by mutual marriages, that the distinction remained but a short space; Normans and Saxons becoming one people, who by their valour grew terrible to all the neighbouring princes, and have not only bravely acquitted themselves in their own defence, but have showed abroad how easily they could subdue the world, if they did not prefer the quiet enjoyment of their own part above the conquest of the whole.

Better laws and a happier constitution of government no nation ever enjoyed, it being a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, with sufficient fences against the pest of every one of those forms—tyranny, faction, and confusion; yet is it not possible for man to devise such just and excellent bounds, as will keep in wild ambition, when princes' flatterers encourage that beast to break his fence, which it hath often done, with miserable consequences both to the prince and people; but could never in any age so tread down popular liberty, but that it arose again with renewed vigour, till at length it trod on those that trampled it before. And in the just bounds, wherein our kings were so well hedged in, the surrounding princes have with terror seen the reproof of their usurpations over their free brethren, whom they rule rather as slaves than subjects, and are only served for fear, but not for love; whereas this people have ever been as affectionate to good, as unpliable to bad sovereigns.

Nor is it only valour and generosity that renown this nation; in arts we have advanced equal to our neighbours, and in those that are most excellent, exceeded them. The world hath not yielded men more famous in navigation, nor ships better built or furnished. Agriculture is as ingeniously practised; the English archers were the terror of Christendom, and their clothes the ornament; but these

low things bounded not their great spirits, in all ages it hath yielded men as famous in all kinds of learning, as Greece or Italy can boast of.

And to complete the crown of all their glory, reflected from the lustre of their ingenuity, valour, wit, learning, justice, wealth, and bounty, their piety and devotion to God, and his worship, hath made them one of the most truly noble nations in the Christian world, God having as it were enclosed a people here, out of the waste common of the world, to serve him with a pure and undefiled worship. Lucius the British king was one of the first monarchs of the earth that received the faith of Christ into his heart and kingdom;[1] Henry the Eighth, the first prince that broke the antichristian yoke off from his own and his subjects' necks. Here it was that the first Christian emperor received his crown; here began the early dawn of gospel light, by Wickliffe and other faithful witnesses, whom God raised up after the black and horrid midnight of antichristianism; and a more plentiful harvest of devout confessors, constant martyrs, and holy worshippers of God, hath not grown in any field of the church, throughout all

[1] On Lucius see Bede, "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum," lib. i. cap. iv. Bede says Lucius sent a letter to Pope Eleutherius, begging to be made a Christian, and places the date of this event somewhere between 177 and 180 A.D.

ages, than those whom God hath here glorified his name and gospel by. Yet hath not this wheat been without its tares; God in comparison with other countries hath made this as a paradise, so, to complete the parallel, the serpent hath in all times been busy to seduce, and not unsuccessful; ever stirring up opposers to the infant truths of Christ.

No sooner was the faith of Christ embraced in this nation, but the neighbouring heathens invaded the innocent Christians, and slaughtered multitudes of them; and when, by the mercy of God, the conquering Pagans were afterwards converted, and that there were none left to oppose the name of Christ with open hostility, then the subtle serpent put off his own horrid appearance, and comes out in a Christian dress, to persecute Christ in his poor prophets, that bore witness against the corruption of the times. This intestine quarrel hath been more successful to the devil, and more afflictive to the church, than all open wars; and, I fear, will never happily be decided, till the Prince of Peace come to conclude the controversy, which at the time of my birth was working up into that tempest, wherein I have shared many perils, many fears, and many sorrows; and many more mercies, consolations, and preservations, which I shall have occasion to mention in other places.

From the place of my birth I shall only desire

to remember the goodness of the Lord, who hath caused my lot to fall in a good ground; who hath fed me in a pleasant pasture, where the well-springs of life flow to all that desire to drink of them. And this is no small favour, if I consider how many poor people perish among the heathen, where they never hear the name of Christ; how many poor Christians spring up in countries enslaved by Turkish and antichristian tyrants, whose souls and bodies languish under miserable slavery. None knows what mercy it is to live under a good and wholesome law, that have not considered the sad condition of being subject to the will of an unlimited man; and surely it is too universal a sin in this nation, that the common mercies of God to the whole land are so slightly regarded, and so inconsiderately passed over; certainly these are circumstances which much magnify God's loving-kindness and his special favour to all that are of English birth, and call for a greater return of duty from us than from all other people of the world.

Nor is the place only, but the time of my coming into the world, a considerable mercy to me. It was not in the midnight of popery, nor in the dawn of the gospel's restored day, when light and shades were blended and almost undistinguished, but when the Sun of truth was exalted in his progress, and hastening towards a meridian glory. It was, indeed, early in the morning, God being pleased to allow

me the privilege of beholding the admirable growth of gospel light in my days: and oh! that my soul may never forget to bless and praise his name for the wonders of power and goodness, wisdom and truth, which have been manifested in this my time.

The next blessing I have to consider in my nativity is my parents, both of them pious and virtuous in their own conversation, and careful instructors of my youth, not only by precept but example; which, if I had leisure and ability, I should have transmitted to my posterity, both to give them the honour due from me in such a grateful memorial, and to increase my children's improvement of the patterns they set them; but since I shall detract from those I would celebrate, by my imperfect commemorations, I shall content myself to sum up some few things for my own use, and let the rest alone, which I either knew not, or have forgotten, or cannot worthily express.

My grandfather by the father's side was a gentleman of a competent estate, about £700 or £800 a year, in Sussex. He being descended of a younger house, had his residence at a place called Pulborough; the family out of which he came was an Apsley of Apsley, a town where they had been seated before the Conquest, and ever since continued, till of late the last heir male of that eldest house, being the son of Sir Edward Apsley, died without issue, and his estate went with his sister's

daughters into other families. Particularities concerning my father's kindred or country I never knew much of, by reason of my youth at the time of his death, and my education in far distant places; only in general I have heard, that my grandfather was a man well reputed and beloved in his country, and that it had been such a continued custom for my ancestors to take wives at home, that there was scarce a family of any note in Sussex to which they were not by intermarriages nearly related; but I was myself a stranger to them all, except my Lord Goring, who living at court, I have seen with my father, and heard of him, because he was appointed one of my father's executors, though he declined the trouble. My grandfather had seven sons, of which my father was the youngest; to the eldest he gave his whole estate, and to the rest, according to the custom of those times, slight annuities. The eldest brother married to a gentlewoman of a good family, and by her had only one son, whose mother dying, my uncle married himself again to one of his own maids, and by her had three more sons, whom, with their mother, my cousin William Apsley, the son of the first wife, held in such contempt, that a great while after, dying without children, he gave his estate of inheritance to my father, and two of my brothers, except about £100 a year to the eldest of his half brothers, and annuities of £30 a piece to the three for their lives. He died before I was born,

but I have heard very honourable mention of him in our family. The rest of my father's brothers went into the wars in Ireland and the Low Countries, and there remained none of them, nor their issues, when I was born, but only three daughters who bestowed themselves meanly, and their generations are worn out, except two or three unregarded children. My father, at the death of my grandfather, being but a youth at school, had not patience to stay the perfecting of his studies, but put himself into present action, sold his annuity, bought himself good clothes, put some money in his purse, and came to London; and by means of a relation at court, got a place in the household of Queen Elizabeth, where he behaved himself so that he won the love of many of the court; but being young, took an affection to gaming, and spent most of the money he had in his purse. About that time, the Earl of Essex was setting forth for Cales voyage,[1] and my father, that had a mind to quit his idle court life, procured an employment from the victualler of the navy, to go along with that fleet. In which voyage he demeaned himself with so much courage and prudence, that after his return he was honoured with a very noble and profitable employment in Ireland. There a rich widow, that had

[1] *i.e.*, the expedition of the Earl of Essex to Cadiz in 1596.

many children, cast her affections upon him, and he married her; but she not living many years with him, and having no children by him, after her death he distributed all her estate among her children, for whom he ever preserved a fatherly kindness, and some of her grandchildren were brought up in his house after I was born. He, by God's blessing, and his fidelity and industry, growing in estate and honour, received a knighthood from King James soon after his coming to the crown, for some eminent service done to him in Ireland, which, having only heard in my childhood, I cannot perfectly set down. After that, growing into a familiarity with Sir George Carew, made now by the king Earl of Totness, a niece of this earl's, the daughter of Sir Peter Carew, who lived a young widow in her uncle's house, fell in love with him, which her uncle perceiving, procured a marriage between them. She had divers children by my father, but only two of them, a son and daughter, survived her, who died whilst my father was absent from her in Ireland. He led, all the time of his widowhood, a very disconsolate life, careful for nothing in the world but to educate and advance the son and daughter, the dear pledges she had left him, for whose sake he quitted himself of his employments abroad, and procured himself the office of Victualler of the Navy, a place then both of credit and great revenue. His friends, considering his solitude,

had procured him a match of a very rich widow, who was a lady of as much discretion as wealth; but while he was upon this design he chanced to see my mother, at the house of Sir William St. John, who had married her eldest sister; and though he went on his journey, yet something in her person and behaviour he carried along with him, which would not let him accomplish it, but brought him back to my mother. She was of a noble family, being the youngest daughter of Sir John St. John, of Lidiard Tregooze in the county of Wilts; her father and mother died when she was not above five years of age, and yet at her nurse's, from whence she was carried to be brought up in the house of the Lord Grandison, her father's younger brother; an honourable and excellent person, but married to a lady so jealous of him, and so ill-natured in her jealous fits, to anything that was related to him, that her cruelties to my mother exceeded the stories of stepmothers. The rest of my aunts, my mother's sisters, were dispersed to several places, where they grew up till my uncle, Sir John St. John, being married to the daughter of Sir Thomas Laten, they were all again brought home to their brother's house. There were not in those days so many beautiful women found in any family as these, but my mother was by the most judgments preferred before all her elder sisters, who, something envious at it, used

her unkindly. Yet all the suitors that came to them still turned their addresses to her, which she in her youthful innocency neglected, till one of greater name, estate, and reputation than the rest, happened to fall deeply in love with her, and to manage it so discreetly, that my mother could not but entertain him. My uncle's wife, who had a mother's kindness for her, persuaded her to remove herself from her sisters' envy, by going along with her to the Isle of Jersey, where her father was governor; which she did, and there went into the town, and boarded in a French minister's house, to learn the language, that minister having been, by the persecution in France, driven to seek his shelter there. Contracting a dear friendship with this holy man and his wife, she was instructed in their Geneva discipline, which she liked so much better than our more superstitious service, that she could have been contented to have lived there, had not a powerful passion in her heart drawn her back. But at her return she met with many afflictions; the gentleman who had professed so much love to her, in her absence had been, by most vile practices and treacheries, drawn out of his senses, and into the marriage of a person, whom, when he recovered his reason, he hated. But that served only to augment his misfortune, and the circumstances of that story not being necessary to be here inserted, I shall only add that my mother lived in my uncle's

house, secretly discontented at this accident, but was comforted by the kindness of my uncle's wife, who had contracted such an intimate friendship with her, that they seemed to have but one soul. And in this kindness she had some time a great solace, till some malicious persons had wrought some jealousies, which were very groundless, in my uncle concerning his wife; but his nature being inclinable to that passion, which was fomented in him by subtle wicked persons, and my mother endeavouring to vindicate injured innocence, she was herself not well treated by my uncle, whereupon she left his house, with a resolution to withdraw herself into the island, where the good minister was, and there to wear out her life in the service of God. While she was deliberating, and had fixed upon it in her own thoughts, resolving to impart it to none, she was with Sir William St. John, who had married my aunt, when my father accidentally came in there, and fell so heartily in love with her, that he persuaded her to marry him, which she did, and her melancholy made her conform cheerfully to that gravity of habit and conversation, which was becoming the wife of such a person, who was then forty-eight years of age, and she not above sixteen. The first year of their marriage was crowned with a son, called after my father's name,[1] and born at

[1] The second Sir Allen Apsley: *vide* the interesting sketch

East Smithfield, in that house of the king's which belonged to my father's employment in the navy. The next year they removed to the Tower of London, whereof my father was made lieutenant, and there had two sons more before me, and four daughters, and two sons after; of all which only three sons and two daughters survived him at the time of his death, which was in the sixty-third year of his age, after he had three years before languished of a consumption, that succeeded a fever which he got in the unfortunate voyage to the Isle of Rhé.

He died in the month of May, 1630, sadly bewailed by not only all his dependants and relations, but by all that were acquainted with him; for he never conversed with any to whom he was not at some time or in some way beneficial; and his nature was so delighted in doing good, that it won him the love of all men, even his enemies, whose envy and malice it was his custom to overcome with obligations. He had great natural parts, but was too active in his youth to stay the heightening of them by study of dead writings; but in the living books of men's conversations he soon became so skilful that he was never mistaken, but where his own good would not let him give credit to the evil he

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of his life by Mr. S. L. Lee in the "Dictionary of National Biography," and see also on his education Sir Allen's letter of March 20, 1628, to Lord Dorchester: Forster, Life of Eliot, ii. 472.

discerned in others. He was a most indulgent husband, and no less kind to his children; a most noble master, who thought it not enough to maintain his servants honourably while they were with him, but, for all that deserved it, provided offices or settlements, as for children. He was a father to all his prisoners, sweetening with such compassionate kindness their restraint, that the affliction of a prison was not felt in his days.[1] He had a singular kindness for all persons that were eminent either in learning or arms, and when, through the ingratitude and vice of that age, many of the wives and children of Queen Elizabeth's glorious captains were reduced to poverty, his purse was their common treasury, and they knew not the inconvenience of decayed fortunes till he was dead: many of those valiant seamen he maintained in prison, many he redeemed out of prison, and cherished with an extraordinary bounty. If among his excellencies one outshined the rest, it was the generous liberality of

[1] Mr. Forster, in his Life of Sir John Eliot, who was one of Sir Allen Apsley's prisoners, quotes facts and letters which hardly bear out this account of the Lieutenant's indulgence. "He was an honest, plain-spoken man, with no disposition to be harsh or unjust; but he was a king's man to the backbone; his only law was that of obedience to the master he was serving under; and the career in naval and military service which had made him a disciplinarian, had neither sharpened nor refined his sympathies."—Forster, Eliot, ii. 468. See also Selden's Petition, ibid. p. 469.

his mind, wherein goodness and greatness were so equally distributed that they mutually embellished each other. Pride and covetousness had not the least place in his breast. As he was in love with true honour, so he contemned vain titles; and though in his youth he accepted an addition to his birth, in his riper years he refused a barondry,[1] which the king offered him. He was severe in the regulating of his family, especially would not endure the least immodest behaviour or dress in any woman under his roof. There was nothing he hated more than an insignificant gallant, that could only make his legs and prune himself, and court a lady, but had not brains to employ himself in things more suitable to man's nobler sex. Fidelity in his trust, love and loyalty to his prince, were not the least of his virtues, but those wherein he was not excelled by any of his own or succeeding times. The large estate he reaped by his happy industry, he did many times over as freely resign again to the king's service, till he left the greatest part of it at his death in the king's hands. All his virtues wanted not the crown of all virtue, piety and true devotion to God. As his life was a continued exercise of faith and charity, it concluded with prayers

[1] "Barondry" probably means barony. Halliwell's "Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words" gives "baronady," "the dignity of baron." In Bohn's edition "baronetcy" is substituted for the word in the text, but no authority given.

and blessings, which were the only consolations his desolate family could receive in his death. Never did any two better agree in magnanimity and bounty than he and my mother, who seemed to be actuated by the same soul, so little did she grudge any of his liberalities to strangers, or he contradict any of her kindness to all her relations; her house being a common home to all of them, and a nursery to their children. He gave her a noble allowance of £300 a year for her own private expense, and had given her all her own portion to dispose of how she pleased, as soon as she was married; which she suffered to increase in her friends' hands; and what my father allowed her she spent not in vanities, although she had what was rich and requisite upon occasions, but she laid most of it out in pious and charitable uses. Sir Walter Raleigh and Mr. Ruthven being prisoners in the Tower, and addicting themselves to chemistry, she suffered them to make their rare experiments at her cost, partly to comfort and divert the poor prisoners, and partly to gain the knowledge of their experiments, and the medicines to help such poor people as were not able to seek physicians. By these means she acquired a great deal of skill, which was very profitable to many all her life. She was not only to these, but to all the other prisoners that came into the Tower, as a mother. All the time she dwelt in the Tower, if any were

sick she made them broths and restoratives with her own hands, visited and took care of them, and provided them all necessaries; if any were afflicted she comforted them, so that they felt not the inconvenience of a prison who were in that place. She was not less bountiful to many poor widows and orphans, whom officers of higher and lower rank had left behind them as objects of charity. Her own house was filled with distressed families of her relations, whom she supplied and maintained in a noble way. The care of the worship and service of God, both in her soul and her house, and the education of her children, was her principal care. She was a constant frequenter of week-day lectures, and a great lover and encourager of good ministers, and most diligent in her private reading and devotions.

When my father was sick she was not satisfied with the attendance of all that were about him, but made herself his nurse, and cook, and physician, and, through the blessing of God, and her indefatigable labours and watching, preserved him a great while longer than the physicians thought it possible for his nature to hold out. At length, when the Lord took him to rest, she showed as much humility and patience, under that great change, as moderation and bounty in her more plentiful and prosperous condition, and died in my house at Owthorpe, in the county of Nottingham, in the year 1659. The privilege of being born of, and

educated by, such excellent parents, I have often revolved with great thankfulness for the mercy, and humiliation that I did no more improve it. After my mother had had three sons, she was very desirous of a daughter, and when the women at my birth told her I was one, she received me with a great deal of joy; and the nurses fancying, because I had more complexion and favour than is usual in so young children, that I should not live, my mother became fonder of me, and more endeavoured to nurse me. As soon as I was weaned a French woman was taken to be my dry-nurse, and I was taught to speak French and English together. My mother, while she was with child of me, dreamed that she was walking in the garden with my father, and that a star came down into her hand, with other circumstances, which, though I have often heard, I minded not enough to remember perfectly; only my father told her, her dream signified she should have a daughter of some extraordinary eminency; which thing, like such vain prophecies, wrought as far as it could its own accomplishment:[1] for my father and mother fancy-

[1] This is an ingenious way of accounting for the fulfilment of superstitious predictions and expectations, which might frequently with close attention be traced to their source, as is here done. It is clear that in the present case it occasioned a peculiar care to be taken of her education; and this again caused her mind and disposition to take that

ing me then beautiful, and more than ordinarily apprehensive, applied all their cares, and spared no cost to improve me in my education, which procured me the admiration of those that flattered my parents. By the time I was four years old I read English perfectly, and having a great memory, I was carried to sermons; and while I was very young could remember and repeat them exactly, and being caressed, the love of praise tickled me, and made me attend more heedfully. When I was about seven years of age, I remember I had at one time eight tutors in several qualities, languages, music, dancing, writing, and needlework; but my genius was quite averse from all but my book, and that I was so eager of, that my mother thinking it prejudiced my health, would moderate me in it; yet this rather animated me than kept me back, and every moment I could steal from my play I would employ in any book I could find, when my own were locked up from me. After dinner and supper I still had an hour allowed me to play, and then I would steal into some hole or other to read. My father would have me learn Latin, and I was so apt

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singular stamp which attracted the notice of Mr. Hutchinson, and led her to the highest situation that she could wish for, that of the lady of a counsellor of state in her beloved, but short-lived, republic. When the reader shall have followed her to the end of her labours, let him judge whether there could be any situation to which she was not adequate.—J. H.

that I outstripped my brothers who were at school, although my father's chaplain, that was my tutor, was a pitiful dull fellow. My brothers, who had a great deal of wit, had some emulation at the progress I made in my learning, which very well pleased my father; though my mother would have been contented I had not so wholly addicted myself to that as to neglect my other qualities. As for music and dancing, I profited very little in them, and would never practise my lute or harpsichords but when my masters were with me; and for my needle I absolutely hated it. Play among other children I despised, and when I was forced to entertain such as came to visit me, I tired them with more grave instructions than their mothers, and plucked all their babies to pieces, and kept the children in such awe, that they were glad when I entertained myself with elder company; to whom I was very acceptable, and living in the house with many persons that had a great deal of wit, and very profitable serious discourses being frequent at my father's table and in my mother's drawing-room, I was very attentive to all, and gathered up things that I would utter again, to great admiration of many that took my memory and imitation for wit. It pleased God that, through the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinced that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study, and accordingly applied my-

self to it, and to practise as I was taught. I used to exhort my mother's maids much, and to turn their idle discourses to good subjects; but I thought, when I had done this on the Lord's day, and every day performed my due tasks of reading and praying, that then I was free to any thing that was not sin; for I was not at that time convinced of the vanity of conversation which was not scandalously wicked. I thought it no sin to learn or hear witty songs and amorous sonnets or poems, and twenty things of that kind, wherein I was so apt that I became the confidante in all the loves that were managed among my mother's young women; and there was none of them but had many lovers, and some particular friends beloved above the rest. Among these I have[1] . . . Five years after me my mother had a daughter that she nursed at her own breast, and was infinitely fond of above all the rest; and I being of too serious a temper was not so pleasing to my[2] . . .

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[1] At this place is a great chasm, many leaves being torn out, apparently by the writer herself.—J. H.

[2] Here the story of herself abruptly ends.—J. H.

MRS. HUTCHINSON TO HER CHILDREN CONCERNING THEIR FATHER.

"TO MY CHILDREN."

THEY who dote on mortal excellencies, when by the inevitable fate of all things frail, their adored idols are taken from them, may let loose the winds of passion to bring in a flood of sorrow, whose ebbing tides carry away the dear memory of what they have lost; and when comfort is essayed to such mourners, commonly all objects are removed out of their view, which may with their remembrance renew the grief; and in time these remedies succeed, and oblivion's curtain is by degrees drawn over the dead face, and things less lovely are liked, while they are not viewed together with that which was most excellent. But I that am under a command not to grieve at the common rate of desolate women,[1] while I am studying which way to moderate

[1] The command of her husband at his death. It will be readily admitted that she does indeed not grieve after any

my woe, and if it were possible to augment my love, can for the present find out none more just to your dear father nor consolatory to myself than the preservation of his memory; which I need not gild with such flattering commendations as the hired preachers do equally give to the truly and titularly honourable. A naked undressed narrative, speaking the simple truth of him, will deck him with more substantial glory, than all the panegyrics the best pens could ever consecrate to the virtues of the best men.[1]

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common rate, but with that noble sorrow which raises instead of depressing the soul: it would be an affront to the reader's taste to point out the beauties of this dirge; but it is only a just commendation of our authoress's judgment and modesty to observe, that having shown her ability to ornament and embellish, she confines herself to such occasions as are most suitable, and employs the greatest simplicity in her narrative.—J. H.

[1] M. Guizot, in his introduction to these Memoirs, compares them to Madame de Mornay's Memoirs of her husband, Duplessis Mornay, written also for the instruction of her son, but whilst the father whose life they contained was yet alive. "I see you," she writes to her son, "ready to depart to go and see the world, and make yourself acquainted with the manners of men and the state of nations. You are young, my son, and divers fantasies present themselves to youth; bear in mind always the words of the Psalmist: 'Thy testimonies, O Lord, shall be the men of my counsel.' But that you may never be without a guide, here is one that I give you by the hand and written by my own hand,

Indeed, that resplendent body of light, which the beginning and ending of his life made up, to discover the deformities of this wicked age, and to instruct the erring children of this generation, will, through my apprehension and expression, shine as under a very thick cloud, which will obscure much of their lustre; but there is need of this medium to this world's weak eyes, which I fear hath but few people in it so virtuous as can believe (because they find themselves so short), that any other could make so large a progress in the race of piety, honour, and virtue: but I am almost stopped before I set forth to trace his steps; finding the number of them, by which he still outwent himself, more than my imperfect arithmetic can count, and the exact figure of them such as my unskilful pen cannot describe. I fear to injure that memory which I would honour, and to disgrace his name with a

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to accompany you; it is the example of your father, which I adjure you always to keep before your eyes, as far as I have been able to know his life, notwithstanding that our company has frequently been interrupted by the misfortunes of the times. I am infirm, and I do not think that God will leave me long in this world: so you will keep this writing in memory of me. And when God shall please to take me from you, I desire that you should finish what I have begun to write of the course of our life; but above all, my son, I shall believe that you will remember when I shall hear it said that, in whatever place you are, you serve God and imitate your father."

poor monument; but when I have beforehand laid this necessary caution, and ingenuously confessed that through my inability either to receive or administer much of that wealthy stock of his glory that I was intrusted with for the benefit of all, and particularly his own posterity, I must withhold a great part from them, I hope I shall be pardoned for drawing an imperfect image of him; especially when even the rudest draft that endeavours to counterfeit him, will have much delightful loveliness in it.

Let not excess of love and delight in the stream make us forget the fountain; he and all his excellencies came from God, and flowed back into their own spring: there let us seek them, thither let us hasten after him; there having found him, let us cease to bewail among the dead that which is risen, or rather was immortal. His soul conversed with God so much when he was here, that it rejoices to be now eternally freed from interruption in that blessed exercise; his virtues were recorded in heaven's annals, and can never perish; by them he yet teaches us and all those to whose knowledge they shall arrive. It is only his fetters, his sins, his infirmities, his diseases, that are dead never to revive again, nor would we have them; they were his enemies and ours; by faith in Christ he vanquished them. Our conjunction, if we had any with him, was indissoluble; if we were knit

together by one spirit into one body of Christ, we are so still; if we were mutually united in one love of God, good men, and goodness, we are so still. What is it then we wail in his remove? the distance? Faithless fools! sorrow only makes it. Let us but ascend to God in holy joy for the great grace given his poor servant, and he is there with us. He is only removed from the malice of his enemies, for which we should not express our love to him in being afflicted: we may mourn for ourselves that we come so tardily after him, that we want his guide and assistance in our way; and yet if our tears did not put out our eyes we should see him even in heaven, holding forth his flaming lamp of virtuous examples and precepts, to light us through the dark world. It is time that I let in to your knowledge that splendour which while it cheers and enlightens your heavy senses, let us remember to give all his and all our glory to God alone, who is the father and fountain of all light and excellence.

Desiring, if my treacherous memory have not lost the dearest treasure that ever I committed to its trust, to relate to you his holy, virtuous, honourable life, I would put his picture in the front of his book, but my unskilful hand will injure him. Yet to such of you as have not seen him to remember his person, I leave this—

HIS DESCRIPTION.

He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportioned shape in all parts, his complexion fair, his hair of light brown, very thick set in his youth, softer than the finest silk, and curling into loose great rings at the ends; his eyes of a lively grey, well-shaped and full of life and vigour, graced with many becoming motions; his visage thin, his mouth well-made, and his lips very ruddy and graceful, although the nether chap shut over the upper, yet it was in such a manner as was not unbecoming; his teeth were even and white as the purest ivory; his chin was something long, and the mould of his face; his forehead was not very high; his nose was raised and sharp; but withal he had a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity and majesty mixed with sweetness, that at the same time bespoke love and awe in all that saw him; his skin was smooth and white, his legs and feet excellently well-made; he was quick in his pace and turns, nimble and active and graceful in all his motions; he was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him; he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper years made any practice of it; he had skill in fencing, such as became a gentleman; he had a great love

of music, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he played masterly; and he had an exact ear and judgment in other music; he shot excellently in bows and guns, and much used them for his exercise; he had great judgment in paintings, graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of value in all kinds; he took great delight in perspective glasses, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as the merit of the work; he took much pleasure in improvement of grounds, in planting groves, and walks, and fruit-trees, in opening springs and making fish-ponds; of country recreations he loved none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he used it, but soon left it off; he was wonderfully neat, cleanly, and genteel in his habit, and had a very good fancy in it, but he left off very early the wearing of anything that was costly, yet in his plainest negligent habit appeared very much a gentleman; he had more address than force of body, yet the courage of his soul so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it; his conversation was very pleasant, for he was naturally cheerful, had a ready wit and apprehension; he was eager in everything he did, earnest in dispute, but withal very rational, so that he was seldom overcome; everything that it was necessary for him to do he

did with delight, free and unconstrained; he hated ceremonious compliment, but yet had a natural civility and complaisance to all people; he was of a tender constitution, but through the vivacity of his spirit could undergo labours, watchings, and journeys, as well as any of stronger compositions; he was rheumatic, and had a long sickness and distemper occasioned thereby, two or three years after the war ended, but else, for the latter half of his life, was healthy though tender; in his youth and childhood he was sickly, much troubled with weakness and toothaches, but then his spirits carried him through them; he was very patient under sickness or pain, or any common accidents, but yet, upon occasions, though never without just ones, he would be very angry, and had even in that such a grace as made him to be feared, yet he was never outrageous in passion; he had a very good faculty in persuading, and would speak very well, pertinently, and effectually without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offered, for indeed, his judgment was so nice, that he could never frame any speech beforehand to please himself; but his invention was so ready, and wisdom so habitual in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himself of speaking at any time without ranking the words beforehand; he was not talkative, yet free of discourse; of a very spare diet, not given to sleep, and an early riser when in

health; he never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one else so; in all his natural and ordinary inclinations and composure, there was something extraordinary and tending to virtue, beyond what I can describe, or can be gathered from a bare dead description; there was a life of spirit and power in him that is not to be found in any copy drawn from him. To sum up, therefore, all that can be said of his outward frame and disposition, we must truly conclude, that it was a very handsome and well-furnished lodging prepared for the reception of that prince, who in the administration of all excellent virtues reigned there a while, till he was called back to the palace of the universal emperor.

HIS VIRTUES.

To number his virtues is to give the epitome of his life, which was nothing else but a progress from one degree of virtue to another, till in a short time he arrived to that height which many longer lives could never reach; and had I but the power of rightly disposing and relating them, his single example would be more instructive than all the rules of the best moralists, for his practice was of a more divine extraction, drawn from the word of God, and wrought up by the assistance of his Spirit; therefore in the head of all his virtues I

shall set that which was the head and spring of them all, his Christianity—for this alone is the true royal blood that runs through the whole body of virtue, and every pretender to that glorious family, who hath no tincture of it, is an impostor and a spurious brat. This is that sacred fountain which baptizeth all the gentle virtues that so immortalise the names of Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and all the old philosophers; herein they are regenerated, and take a new name and nature. Dug up in the wilderness of nature, and dipped in this living spring, they are planted and flourish in the paradise of God.[1]

By Christianity I intend that universal habit of grace which is wrought in a soul by the regenerating Spirit of God, whereby the whole creature is resigned up into the divine will and love, and all its actions designed to the obedience and glory of its Maker. As soon as he had improved his natural understanding with the acquisition of learning, the first studies he exercised himself in, were the principles of religion, and the first knowledge he laboured for was a knowledge of God,

[1] Compare the views expressed by Mrs. Hutchinson in her dedication to the translation of Lucretius, and also in her treatise on theology. In the latter she says: "The vanity of men's minds is not more evident in any of them than in this science [of morality: not one true virtue is truly taught in all Aristotle's books to Nichomachus."

which by a diligent examination of the Scripture, and the several doctrines of great men pretending that ground, he at length obtained. Afterwards, when he had laid a sure and orthodox foundation in the doctrine of the free grace of God given us by Jesus Christ, he began to survey the superstructures, and to discover much of the hay and stubble of men's inventions in God's worship, which his spirit burned up in the day of their trial. His faith being established in the truth, he was full of love to God and all his saints.[1] He hated persecution for religion, and was always a champion for all religious people against all their great oppressors. He detested all scoffs at any practice of worship, though such a one as he was not persuaded of it. Whatever he practised in religion was neither for faction nor advantage, but contrary to it, and purely for conscience' sake. As he hated outsides in religion, so could he worse endure those apostacies and those denials of the Lord and base compliances of his adversaries, which timorous men practise under the name of prudent and just condescensions to avoid persecution. Christianity being in him as the fountain of all his virtues, and diffusing itself in every stream, that of his prudence falls into the next mention. He from a child was wise, and

[1] Saints. An expression commonly used in that time to signify good and religious people.—J. H.

sought to by many that might have been his fathers for counsel, which he could excellently give to himself and others; and whatever cross event in any of his affairs may give occasion to fools to overlook the wisdom of the design, yet he had as great a foresight, as strong a judgment, as clear an apprehension of men and things as no man more. He had rather a firm impression than a great memory, yet he was forgetful of nothing but injuries. His own integrity made him credulous of other men's, till reason and experience convinced him, and as unapt to believe cautions which could not be received without entertaining ill opinions of men; yet he had wisdom enough never to commit himself to a traitor, though he was once wickedly betrayed by friends whom necessity and not mistake forced him to trust.[1] He was as ready to hear as to give counsel, and never pertinacious in his will when his reason was convinced. There was no opinion which he was most settled in, either concerning divine or human things, but he would patiently and impartially hear it debated. In matters of faith his reason always submitted to the Word of God, and what he could not comprehend, he would

[1] It is not known what peculiar transaction this refers to, though it may be conjectured to refer to the false protestations of Monk and Sir Ashley Cooper at the Restoration; whom he and many others trusted much against their will.—J. H.

believe because it was written; but in all other things, the greatest names in the world could never lead him without reason: he would deliberate when there was time, but never lost an opportunity of anything that was to be done by tedious dispute. He would hear as well as speak, and yet never spoke impertinently or unseasonably. He very well understood himself his own advantages, natural parts, gifts, and acquirements, yet so as neither to glory of them to others, nor overvalue himself for them; for he had an excellent virtuous modesty, which shut out all vanity of mind, and yet admitted that true understanding of himself which was requisite for the best improvement of all his talents. He no less understood and was more heedful to remark his defects, imperfections, and disadvantages, but that too only to excite his circumspection concerning them, not to damp his spirit in any noble enterprise. He had a noble spirit of government, both in civil, military, and œcumenical[1] administrations, which forced even from unwilling subjects a love and reverence of him, and endeared him to the souls of those rejoiced to be governed by him. He had a native majesty that struck an awe of him into the hearts of men, and a sweet greatness that commanded love. He had a clear discerning of men's spirits,

[1] Œcumenical, *i.e.*, domestic.

and knew how to give every one their just weight. He contemned none that were not wicked, in whatever low degree of nature or fortune they were otherwise: wherever he saw wisdom, learning, or other virtues in men, he honoured them highly, and admired them to their full rate, but never gave himself blindly up to the conduct of the greatest master. Love itself, which was as powerful in his as in any soul, rather quickened than blinded the eyes of his judgment in discerning the imperfections of those that were most dear to him. His soul ever reigned as king in the internal throne, and never was captive to his sense; religion and reason, its two favoured counsellors, took order that all the passions kept within their own just bounds, there did him good service, and furthered the public weal. He found such felicity in that proportion of wisdom that he enjoyed, as he was a great lover of that which advanced it—learning and the arts; which he not only honoured in others, but had by his industry arrived to be himself a far greater scholar than is absolutely requisite for a gentleman. He had many excellent attainments, but he no less evidenced his wisdom in knowing how to rank and use them, than in gaining them. He had wit enough to have been subtle and cunning, but he so abhorred dissimulation that I cannot say he was either. Greatness of courage would not suffer him to put on a vizard, to secure him

from any; to retire into the shadow of privacy and silence was all his prudence could effect in him. It will be as hard to say which was the predominant virtue in him, as which is so in its own nature. He was as excellent in justice as in wisdom; the greatest advantage, nor the greatest danger, nor the dearest interest or friend in the world, could not prevail on him to pervert justice even to an enemy. He never professed the thing he intended not, nor promised what he believed out of his own power, nor failed the performance of anything that was in his power to fulfil. Never fearing anything he could suffer for the truth, he never at any time would refrain a true or give a false witness; he loved truth so much that he hated even sportive lies and gulleries. He was so just to his own honour that he many times forbore things lawful and delightful to him, rather than he would give any one occasion of scandal. Of all lies he most hated hypocrisy in religion; either to comply with changing governments or persons, without a real persuasion of conscience, or to practise holy things to get the applause of men or any advantage. As in religion so in friendship, he never professed love when he had it not, nor disguised hate or aversion, which indeed he never had to any party or person, but to their sins: and he loved even his bitterest enemies so well, that I am witness how his soul mourned for them, and how

heartily he desired their conversion. If he were defective in any part of justice, it was when it was in his power to punish those who had injured him; whom I have so often known him to recompense with favours instead of revenge, that his friends used to tell him, if they had any occasion to make him favourably partial to them, they would provoke him by an injury. He was as faithful and constant to his friends as merciful to his enemies: nothing grieved him more than to be obliged where he could not hope to return it. He that was a rock to all assaults of might and violence, was the gentlest, easiest soul to kindness, of which the least warm spark melted him into anything that was not sinful. There never was a man more exactly just in the performance of duties to all relations and all persons. Honour, obedience, and love to his father, were so natural and so lasting in him, that it is impossible to imagine a better son than he was; and whoever would pray for a blessing in children to any one, could but wish them such a son as he. He never repined at his father's will in anything, how much soever it were to his prejudice, nor would endure to hear any one say his father was not so kind to him as he might have been; but to his dying day preserved his father's memory with such tender affection and reverence as was admirable, and had that high regard for his mother-in-law and the children she

brought his father, as he could not have been more dearly concerned in all their interest if she had been his own mother—which, all things considered, although they were deserving persons, was an example of piety and goodness that will not easily be matched. For conjugal affection to his wife, it was such in him, as whosoever would draw out a rule of honour, kindness, and religion, to be practised in that estate, need no more, but exactly draw out his example; never man had a greater passion for a woman, nor a more honourable esteem of a wife; yet he was not uxorious, nor remitted not that just rule which it was her honour to obey, but managed the reins of government with such prudence and affection that she who would not delight in such an honourable and advantageable subjection, must have wanted a reasonable soul. He governed by persuasion, which he never employed but to things honourable and profitable for herself; he loved her soul and her honour more than her outside, and yet he had even for her person a constant indulgence, exceeding the common temporary passions of the most uxorious fools. If he esteemed her at a higher rate than she in herself could have deserved, he was the author of that virtue he doated on, while she only reflected his own glories upon him; all that she was, was *him*, while he was here, and all that she is now at best but his pale shade. So liberal was he to her, and of

so generous a temper, that he hated the mention of severed purses; his estate being so much at her disposal, that he never would receive an account of anything she expended; so constant was he in his love, that when she ceased to be young and lovely, he began to show most fondness; he loved her at such a kind and generous rate as words cannot express; yet even this, which was the highest love he or any man could have, was yet bounded by a superior, he loved her in the Lord as his fellow-creature, not his idol, but in such a manner as showed that an affection, bounded in the just rules of duty, far exceeds every way all the irregular passions in the world. He loved God above her, and all the other dear pledges of his heart, and at his command and for his glory cheerfully resigned them. He was as kind a father, as dear a brother, as good a master, and as faithful a friend as the world had, yet in all these relations, the greatest indulgence he could have in the world never prevailed on him to indulge vice in any the dearest person; but the more dear any were to him, the more was he offended at anything that might take off the lustre of their glory. As he had great severity against errors and follies pertinaciously pursued, so had he the most merciful, gentle, and compassionate frame of spirit that can be imagined to those who became sensible of their errors and frailties, although had they been never so injurious to himself.

Nor was his soul less shining in honour than in love. Piety being still the bond of all his other virtues, there was nothing he durst not do or suffer, but sin against God; and therefore, as he never regarded his life in any noble and just enterprise, so he never staked it in any rash or unwarrantable hazard. He was never surprised, amazed, nor confounded with great difficulties or dangers, which rather served to animate than distract his spirits; he had made up his accounts with life and death, and fixed his purpose to entertain both honourably, so that no accident ever dismayed him, but he rather rejoiced in such troublesome conflicts as might signalise his generosity. A truer or more lively valour there never was in any man, but in all his actions it ever marched in the same file with wisdom. He understood well, and as well performed when he undertook it, the military art in all parts of it; he naturally loved the employment, as it suited with his active temper more than any, conceiving a mutual delight in leading those men that loved his conduct; and when he commanded soldiers, never was man more loved and reverenced by all that were under him; for he would never condescend to them in anything they mutinously sought, nor suffer them to seek what it was fit for him to provide, but prevented them by his loving care; and while he exercised his authority no way but in keeping them to their just duty, they joyed

as much in his commands as he in their obedience. He was very liberal to them, but ever chose just times and occasions to exercise it. I cannot say whether he were more truly magnanimous or less proud; he never disdained the meanest person, nor flattered the greatest; he had a loving and sweet courtesy to the poorest, and would often employ many spare hours with the commonest soldiers and poorest labourers,[1] but still so ordering his familiarity as it never raised them to a contempt, but entertained still at the same time a reverence with love of him; he ever preserved himself in his own rank, neither being proud of it so as to despise any inferior, nor letting fall that just decorum which his honour obliged him to keep up. He was as far

[1] Mr. J. R. Green claims that one of the gifts of Puritanism to England was a new conception of social equality, and cites this passage in illustration of it. "Their common calling, their common brotherhood in Christ, annihilated in the mind of the Puritans that overpowering sense of social distinctions which characterised the age of Elizabeth. There was no open break with social traditions; no open revolt against the social subordination of class to class. But within these forms of the older world beat, for the first time, the spirit which was to characterise the new. The meanest peasant felt himself ennobled as a child of God. The proudest noble recognised a spiritual equality in the poorest 'saint.' The great social revolution of the Civil Wars and the Protectorate was already felt in the demeanour of English gentlemen."

from envy of superiors as from contemning them that were under him; he was above the ambition of vain titles, and so well contented with the even ground of a gentleman, that no invitation could have prevailed upon him to advance one step that way; he loved substantial not airy honour. As he was above seeking or delighting in empty titles for himself, so he neither denied nor envied any man's due precedency, but pitied those that took a glory in that which had no foundation of virtue. As little did he seek after popular applause, or pride himself in it, if at any time it cried up his just deserts; he more delighted to do well than to be praised, and never set vulgar commendations at such a rate, as to act contrary to his own conscience or reason for the obtaining them; nor would he forbear a good action which he was bound to, though all the world disliked it, for he ever looked on things as they were in themselves, not through the dim spectacles of vulgar estimation. As he was far from a vain affectation of popularity, so he never neglected that just care that an honest man ought to have of his reputation, and was as careful to avoid the appearances of evil as evil itself; but if he were evil spoken of for truth or righteousness' sake, he rejoiced in taking up the reproach; which all good men that dare bear their testimony against an evil generation must suffer. Though his zeal for truth and virtue caused the wicked, with the

sharp edges of their malicious tongues, to attempt to shave off the glories from his head, yet his honour springing from the fast root of virtue, did but grow the thicker and more beautiful for all their endeavours to cut it off.[1] He was as free from avarice as from ambition and pride. Never had any man a more contented and thankful heart for the estate that God had given, but it was a very narrow compass for the exercise of his great heart. He loved hospitality as much as he hated riot; he could contentedly be without things beyond his reach, though he took very much pleasure in all those noble delights that exceeded not his faculties. In those things that were of mere pleasure, he loved not to aim at that he could not attain; he would rather wear clothes absolutely plain, than pretend to gallantry; and would rather choose to have none than mean jewels or pictures, and such other things as were not of absolute necessity. He would rather give nothing than a base reward or present, and upon that score he lived very much retired, though his nature was very sociable, and delighted in going into and receiving company; because his fortune would not allow him to do it in such a noble manner as suited with his mind. He was so truly magnanimous, that prosperity could never lift him up in the least, nor give him any tincture of pride

[1] Samson and Delilah.

or vain-glory, nor diminish a general affability, courtesy, and civility, that he had always to all persons. When he was most exalted, he was most merciful and compassionate to those that were humbled. At the same time that he vanquished any enemy, he cast away all his ill-will to him, and entertained thoughts of love and kindness as soon as he ceased to be in a posture of opposition. He was as far from meanness as from pride, as truly generous as humble, and showed his noble spirit more in adversity than in his prosperous condition; he vanquished all the spite of his enemies by his manly suffering, and all the contempts they could cast upon him were their shame, not his.

His whole life was the rule of temperance in meat, drink, apparel, pleasure, and all those things that may be lawfully enjoyed; and herein his temperance was more excellent than in others, in whom it is not so much a virtue, but proceeds from want of appetite or gust of pleasure; in him it was a true, wise, and religious government of the desire and delight he took in the things he enjoyed. He had a certain activity of spirit which could never endure idleness either in himself or others, and that made him eager, for the time he indulged it, as well in pleasure as in business; indeed, though in youth he exercised innocent sports a little while, yet afterwards his business was his pleasure. But how intent soever he were in anything, how much

soever it delighted him, he could freely and easily cast it away when God called him to something else. He had as much modesty as could consist with a true virtuous assurance, and hated an impudent person. Neither in youth nor riper age could the most fair or enticing women ever draw him so much as into unnecessary familiarity or vain converse or dalliance with them, yet he despised nothing of the female sex but their follies and vanities; wise and virtuous women he loved, and delighted in all pure, holy, and unblameable conversation with them, but so as never to excite scandal or temptation. Scurrilous discourse even among men he abhorred; and though he sometimes took pleasure in wit and mirth, yet that which was mixed with impurity he never would endure. The heat of his youth a little inclined him to the passion of anger, and the goodness of his nature to those of love and grief, but reason was never dethroned by them, but continued governess and moderator in his soul.[1]

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[1] In this place Mrs. Hutchinson has written, "All this and more is true, but I so much dislike the manner of relating it, that I will make another essay." And accordingly she proceeds to write his character over again, but it has the appearance of being much *more laboured*, and much *less characteristic*, and therefore the former is preferred.

At the same place is written: "This book was written by Lucy, the widow and relict of Col. John Hutchinson, of Owthorp."—J. H.

(Julius Hutchinson, grandfather of the Editor.)

THE

LIFE OF JOHN HUTCHINSON,

OF OWTHORPE, IN THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM, ESQUIRE.

He was the eldest surviving son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, and the Lady Margaret, his first wife, one of the daughters of Sir John Biron, of Newstead, in the same county, two persons so eminently virtuous and pious in their generations, that to descend from them was to set up in the world upon a good stock of honour, which obliged their posterity to improve it, as much as it was their privilege to inherit their parents' glories. Sir Thomas was he that removed his dwelling to Owthorpe; his father, though he was possessor of that lordship, having dwelt at Cropwell, another town, within two miles of which he had an inheritance, which, if I mistake not, was the place where those of the family that began to settle the name in this county, first fixed their habitation. The family for many generations past have been of good repute in Yorkshire, and

there is yet a gentleman in that county, descendant of the elder house, that possesses a fair estate and reputation in his father's ancient inheritance.[1] They have been in Nottinghamshire for generations; wherein I observe that as if there had been an Agrarian law in the family, as soon as they arrived to any considerable fortune beyond his who was first transplanted hither, they began other houses, of which one is soon decayed and worn out in an unworthy branch (he of Basford), another begins to flourish, and long may it prosper.[2] It is further observable in their descent that though none of them before Sir Thomas Hutchinson advanced beyond an esquire, yet they successively matched into all the most eminent and noble families in the country; which shows that it was the unambitious genius of the family rather than their want of merit, which made them keep upon so even a ground, after their first achievements had set them on a stage elevated enough from the vulgar, to perform any honourable and virtuous actions. I spoke with one old man who had known five generations of them in these parts, where their hospi-

[1] At Wykeham Abbey, in the county of York, where it is believed they still reside.—J. H.

[2] It stood only two generations; the last possessor, who was the great-grandson of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, directing by his will the estate to be sold, and the produce given to strangers.—J. H.

tality, their love to their country, their plain and honest conversation with all men, their generous and unambitious inclinations, had made the family continue as well beloved and reputed as any of the prouder houses in the country.[1] Although they changed not their titles, yet every succession increased the real honour of their house. One disadvantage they had, that few of them were so long lived as to prevent their sons from the bondage of wardship, whereby they fell into the hands of wicked guardians, that defaced instead of cultivating their seats, and made every heir a new planter. Sir Thomas Hutchinson, as I have heard, was not above eight years of age when his father died, and his wardship fell into the hands of an unworthy person, Sir Germaine Poole, who did him so many injuries, that he was fain, after he came of age, to have suits with him. This so raised the malice of the wicked man that he watched an opportunity to assassinate him unawares, and as Sir Thomas was landing out of a boat at the Temple stairs in London, Poole having on a private coat, with some wicked assistants, before he was aware, gave him some cuts on the head and his left hand that was upon the boat; but he full of courage drew his sword, ran at Poole and broke his weapon, which

[1] Sir Thomas Hutchinson's son and grandson fell no way short of him in this.—J. H.

could not enter his false armour; whereupon he run in to him, resolved not to be murdered without leaving some mark on the villain, bit off his nose, and then, by the assistance God sent him of an honest waterman, being rescued, he was carried away so sorely wounded that his life was in some danger: but the fact being made public, his honourable carriage in it procured him a great deal of glory, and his adversary carried the mark of his shame to the grave.[1] After this, returning into the country, he there lived with very much love, honour, and repute; but having been tossed up and down in his youth, and interrupted in his studies, he grew into such an excessive humour for books, that he wholly addicted himself to them; and deeply engag-

[1] This is a singular tale, and savours almost too much of the ridiculous for the gravity of an historian: however, Rushworth recites a story of this same man not a little resembling it, in the appendix to his second vol. "Sir German Poole vowed revenge against a Mr. Brighthouse, shot two pistols at him out of a window, set two servants on him with swords, who ran him through the cloak between the arm and body, but killed him not, he defending himself effectually till Sir German came on, who wounded him, and for which he and another were committed to the Fleet, fined £1100, &c." This does not seem to have cured him; perhaps the mark set on him by Sir Thomas H. succeeded better. Did Charles the Second take the hint from this when he set assassins to slit Mr. Coventry's nose, which caused the Coventry act to pass?—J. H.

ing in school divinity, spent even his hours of meat and sleep among his books, with such eagerness, that though he himself attained a high reputation of learning thereby, and indeed a great improvement in wisdom and piety, yet he too much deprived his dear friends and relations of his conversation. When he was entered into this studious life, God took from him his dear wife, who left him only two weak children; and then being extremely afflicted for so deplorable a loss, he entertained his melancholy among the old fathers and schoolmen, instead of diverting it; and having furnished himself with the choicest library in that part of England, it drew to him all the learned and religious men thereabouts, who found better resolutions from him than from any of his books. Living constantly in the country,[1] he could not be exempted from administering justice among them, which he did with such equity and wisdom, and was such a defender of the country's interest, that, without affecting it at all, he grew the most popular and most beloved man in the country, even to the envy of those prouder great ones that despised the common interest. What others sought, he could not shun, being still sought by the whole county, to be their representative, to which he was several times

[1] Country here and in many other places in these Memoirs signifies county.

elected, and ever faithful to his trust and his country's interest, though never approving violence and faction. He was a man of a most moderate and wise spirit, but still so inclined to favour the oppressed saints and honest people of those times, that, though he conformed to the government, the licentious and profane encroachers upon common native rights branded him with the reproach of the world, though the glory of good men—Puritanism; yet notwithstanding he continued constant to the best interest, and died at London in the year 1643, a sitting member of that glorious Parliament that so generously attempted, and had almost effected, England's perfect liberty. He was a person of great beauty and comeliness in all ages,[1] of a bounteous and noble nature, of clear courage, sweet and affable conversation, of a public spirit, of great prudence and reputation, a true lover of all pious learned persons, and no less of honest plain people;

[1] His picture remained at Owthorpe, and very well justified this description, and is now in the editor's possession in high preservation. For the bounty and nobleness of his nature take this instance from Thoroton's History of Notts. "Henry Sacheverell, Esq., being dissatisfied with his only daughter for an improper marriage, left the whole estate at Ratcliff upon Soar to Sir Thomas Hutchinson, his sister's son, who willingly divided it with the disinherited lady." His moiety came afterwards to Alderman Ireton, being sacrificed to him through necessity by Col. Hutchinson, as will hereafter be shown.—J. H.

of a most tender conscience, and therefore declaring much for and endeavouring moderation, if it had been possible in the beginning of our wars that the greatest wisdom could have cast on any drops of healing counsel, to have allayed the furious rage of both parties. Though never man was a deeper nor truer mourner than he for his first wife, yet that long dropping grief did but soften his heart for the impression of a second love, which he conceived for a very honourable and beautiful lady, who was Katherine the youngest daughter of Sir John Stanhope, of Elvaston, a noble family in Derbyshire, by whom he had a son and two daughters surviving him, not unworthy of their family.

Mr. John Hutchinson, the eldest of his surviving sons, by his first wife, was born at Nottingham in the month of September, in the year 1616.[1] That year there had been a great drought, by reason of which the country would not afford his father any provision for his stables, so that he was forced to remove from Owthorpe to winter in the town of Nottingham, somewhat before his lady's time of account. She being in the coach on her way thither, and seeing her husband in some danger by

[1] Mrs. Hutchinson is here in error. The great drought took place in 1615; and it also appears from the registers of St. Mary's, Nottingham, that John, son of Mr. Thomas Hutchinson, was born on September 18, 1615. *Vide* Brown, "Worthies of Nottinghamshire," p. 190.

reason of a mettled horse he rid upon, took a fright, and was brought to bed the next day, as they imagined some three weeks before her time, and they were confirmed in that opinion by the weakness of the child, which continued all his infancy. When he was born there was an elder brother in the family, but he died a child. Two years and a half after this Mr. George Hutchinson, his younger brother, was born at Owthorpe; and half a year after his birth the two children lost their mother, who died of a cold she had taken, and was buried at Owthorpe. She was a lady of as noble family as any in the county, of an incomparable shape and beauty, embellished with the best education those days afforded; and above all had such a generous virtue joined with attractive sweetness, that she captivated the hearts of all that knew her. She was pious, liberal, courteous, patient, kind above an ordinary degree, ingenuous to all things she would apply herself to; and notwithstanding she had had her education at court, was delighted in her own country habitation, and managed all her family affairs better than any of the homespun housewifes, that had been brought up to nothing else. She was a most affectionate wife, a great lover of her father's house, showing that true honour to parents is the leading virtue, which seldom wants the concomitancy of all the rest of honour's train. She was a wise and

bountiful mistress in her family, a blessing to her tenants and neighbourhood, and had an indulgent tenderness to her infants; but death veiled all her mortal glories in the 26th year of her age. The stories I have received of her have been but scanty epitaphs of those things which were worthy of a large chronicle, and a better recorder than I can be; I shall therefore draw again the sable curtain before that image which I have ventured to look at a little, but dare not undertake to discover to others. One that was present at her death told me that she had an admirable voice, and skill to manage it; and that she went away singing a psalm, which this maid apprehended she sung with so much more than usual sweetness, as if her soul had been already ascended into the celestial choir.

There is a story of her father and mother so memorable that though it be not altogether pertinent to their grandchild's affairs, which I only intend, yet I shall here put it in, since the third generation, for whom I make this collection, is not altogether unconcerned in the great grandfather. He (the great grandfather) was not the eldest son of his father Sir John Biron, but had an elder brother who had married a private gentleman's daughter in the country, and so displeased his father in that match; that he intended an equal part of his estate to this Sir John Biron, his younger son, and thereupon married him to a young lady who

was one of the daughters of my lord Fitzwilliam, that had been deputy of Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and lived as a prince in that country.[1] This daughter of his having an honourable aspiring to all things excellent, and being assisted by the great education her father gave her, attained to a high degree of learning and language, to such an excellency in music and poetry, that she made rare compositions in both kinds; and there was not any of those extraordinary qualities, which are therefore more glorious because more rare in the female sex, but she was excellent in them: and besides all these ornaments of soul, she had a body of as admirable form and beauty, which justly made her husband so infinitely enamoured of her as never man was more. She could not set too high a value on herself if she compared herself with other women of those times; yet it was an alloy to her glories that she was a little grieved that a less woman, the elder brother's wife, was superior to her in regard

[1] By mistake Mrs. Hutchinson calls him lord. The person here meant was Sir William Fitzwilliam, appointed governor of Ireland seven times with the different titles of Lord Justice and Lord Deputy, by that distinguishing and judicious princess. A sufficient eulogy! From him descends in a direct line the present Earl Fitzwilliam. *Fortes creantur, fortibus et bonis.* The reader will most likely find this episode too beautiful and affecting to think it needs the apology the writer makes.—J. H.

of her husband, though inferior in regard of her birth and person; but that grief was soon removed by a sad accident. That marriage wherein the father had not been obeyed was fruitless, and the young gentleman himself being given to youthful vanity, as he was one day to go out a hunting with his father, had commanded something to be put under the saddle of a young serving man, that was to go out with them, to make sport at his affright when his horse should prove unquiet. The thing succeeded as it was designed, and made them such sport, that the young gentleman, in the passion of laughter, died, and turned their mirth into mourning; leaving a sad caveat by his example, to take heed of hazarding men's precious lives for a little sport. The younger brother by this means became the heir of the family, and was father of a numerous and hopeful issue. But while the incomparable mother shined in all the human glory she wished, and had the crown of all outward felicity to the full, in the enjoyment of the mutual love of her most beloved husband, God in one moment took it away, and alienated her most excellent understanding in a difficult child-birth; wherein she brought forth two daughters which lived to be married, and one more that died I think as soon or before it was born.[1] But after that, all the art of the best

[1] The twins here mentioned as daughters are said by

physicians in England could never restore her understanding: yet she was not frantic, but had such a pretty deliration, that her ravings were more delightful than other women's most rational conversations. Upon this occasion her husband gave himself up to live retired with her, as became her condition, and made haste to marry his son; which he did so young that I have heard say when the first child was born, the father, mother, and child, could not make one-and-thirty years old. The daughters and the rest of the children as soon as they grew up were married and dispersed. I think I have heard she had some children after that childbirth which distempered her, and then my lady Hutchinson must have been one of them, for she was the youngest daughter, and at nine years old so taking, and of such an amiable conversation, that the lady Arabella [1] would needs take her from her parents, along with her to the court; where she minded nothing but her lady, and grew up so

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Thoroton to have been sons, viz., Sir John, presently herein spoken of as the brother-in-law of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, and Sir Nicholas, who served Charles the First with the same zeal as the rest of that family.—J. H.

[1] Arabella Stuart, daughter of Lord Darnley's younger brother, and consequently cousin of James I. She married, in May 1610, William Seymour, son of Lord Beauchamp, a descendant of Mary, the younger sister of Henry VIII. Being herself a descendant of his elder sister Margaret,

intimate in all her counsels, that the princess was more delighted in her than in any of the women about her; but when she (the princess) was carried away from them to prison, my lady's brother fetched her home to his house, and there, although his wife, a most prudent and virtuous lady, laboured to comfort her with all imaginable kindness, yet so constant was her friendship to the unfortunate princess, that I have heard her servants say, even after her marriage, she would steal many melancholy hours to sit and weep in remembrance of her. Meanwhile her parents were driving on their age, in no less constancy of love to each other; for even that distemper which had estranged her mind in all things else, had left her love and obedience entire to her husband, and he retained the same fondness and respect for her, after she was distempered, as when she was the glory of her age. He had two beds in one chamber, and she being a little sick, two women watched by her, some time before she died. It was his custom, as soon as ever he unclosed his eyes, to ask how she did; but one night, he being as they thought in a deep sleep, she quietly departed towards the morn-

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James, who had forbidden this marriage, committed both the culprits to prison, July 1610, where she died September 27, 1615.

See Gardiner's History of England, vol. ii. pp. 113–119, and Miss Cooper's "Letters and Life of Arabella Stuart."

ing. He was that day to have gone a hunting, his usual exercise for his health, and it was his custom to have his chaplain pray with him before he went out; and the women, fearful to surprise him with the ill news, knowing his dear affection to her, had stolen out and acquainted the chaplain, desiring him to inform him of it. Sir John waking, did not on that day, as was his custom, ask for her, but called the chaplain to prayers, and joining with him, in the midst of the prayer, expired, and both of them were buried together in the same grave. Whether he perceived her death, and would not take notice, or whether some strange sympathy in love or nature, tied up their lives in one, or whether God was pleased to exercise an unusual providence towards them, preventing them both from that bitter sorrow which such separations cause, it can be but conjectured; but the thing being not ordinary, and having received it from the relation of one of his daughters and his grandchild, I thought it not impertinent here to insert. I shall now proceed to our own story.

As soon as my lady Hutchinson[1] was dead, her brother, Sir John Biron, came over and found the most desolate afflicted widower that ever was beheld, and one of his sisters, the lady Ratcliffe, who was the dear sister of the dead lady, scarce alive

[1] The mother of Col. Hutchinson : see p. 59.

for sorrow; and indeed such an universal lamentation in the house and neighbourhood, that the protraction of their griefs for such a funeral as was intended her, might possibly have made them all as she: Sir John therefore the next morning privately, unknown to her husband, with only her own family, carried her to the church, which was but the next door, and interred her without further ceremony. It booted not Sir Thomas to be angry at her friend's care of him; who pursued it so far, that the next day he carried away Sir Thomas, lady Radcliffe, and Mr. John Hutchinson, towards his own house at Bulwell, leaving Mr. George at his nurse's. But the horses of the coach being mettled, in the halfway between Owthorpe and Nottingham run away, overthrew it, and slightly hurt all that were in the coach; who all got out, one by one, except the maid that had the child in her arms, and she stayed as long as there was any hope of preventing the coach from being torn to pieces: but when she saw no stop could be given to the mad horses, she lapped him as close as she could in the mantle, and flung him as far as she could from the coach into the ploughed lands, whose furrows were at that time very soft; and by the good providence of God the child, reserved to a more glorious death, had no apparent hurt. He was taken up and carried to Bulwell, where his aunt had such a motherly tenderness for him that

he grew and prospered in her care. As the fresh memory and excessive love they bore the mother, endeared the young child to all her relations at the first, so as he grew, he discovered so much growing wisdom, agility, and pretty sprightfulness, had such a natural gravity without sullenness, and such sweet innocence, that every child of the family loved him better than their own brothers and sisters, and Sir John Biron and my lady were not half so fond of any of their own. When it was time for them to go to school, both the brothers were sent to board with Mr. Theobalds,[1] the master of the free school at Nottingham, who was an excellent scholar; but having no children, some wealth, and a little living that kept his house, he first grew lazy, and after left off his school. Sir Thomas then removed his sons to the free school at Lincoln, where there was a master very famous for learning and piety, Mr. Clarke; but he was such a supercilious pedant, and so conceited of his own pedantic forms, that he gave Mr. Hutchinson a disgust of him, and he profited very

[1] In the Nottingham records, under the year 1615, is the following entry, "Mr. Theobald, recommended by the master and fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, chosen the new master at the free school, at a salary of twenty marks per annum, with the house, and liberty of taking boarders."—Bailey, "Annals of Nottinghamshire," vol. ii. p. 590.

little there. At this place it was that God began early to exercise him with affliction and temptation; he was deprived of the attendance and care he had been used to, and met with many inconveniences unsuitable to his tender and nice constitution; but this was little, for he had such discretion in his childhood that he understood what was fit for him to require, and governed wherever he lived; for he would not be denied reasonable, and would not ask other things. He was as a father over his brother, and having some advantage of years, took upon him to be the guide of his youth, yet with such love, that never were children more commendable and happy in mutual affections. But it pleased God to strike his brother with a sad disease, the falling sickness,[1] wherein Mr. Hutchinson most carefully attended him while he continued at Lincoln; which his father permitted him to do, for the opportunity of Dr. Pridgeon, one of the best physicians in those parts. When he had in vain exercised all his art on the young gentleman, and found no success in it, he advised he should return to his father's house, and be entertained with all the sports that could be found to delight his mind or exercise his body. Accordingly he was carried home, and had a pack of hounds, huntsmen, and horses kept for him, and was some-

[1] *i.e.*, epilepsy.

thing recreated, but not cured thereby; till afterwards it pleased God to effect that cure by a young practitioner, which the ablest physicians of the country could not work. This separation from his brother, to whom he had such an entire affection, considered with the sad occasion of it, was a great affliction to the elder brother; who remained in a place where he had little to delight him, having an aversion to his austere, pedantic master, increased by an opinion that his severity had been the cause of his dear brother's distemper.

The great encouragement Sir Thomas had to trust his sons in this town was, because at that time a gentleman inhabited it who had married his uncle's widow, and had been his fellow-sufferer in a confinement in Kent, when King Charles the First had broken up a parliament to the disgust of the people, and durst not trust those gentlemen that had been most faithful defenders of their countries' interests, to return for some time to their own countries, for which they served.[1] Of these worthy

[1] Sir Thomas Grantham was a member of both the first and second Parliaments of Charles I. Sir Thomas Hutchinson represented the county of Nottingham in the first Parliament of Charles I. The imprisonment referred to in the text probably took place after the dissolution of the second Parliament, when, says Rushworth, vol. i. p. 428, "those gentlemen who stood committed for not parting with monies upon the Commissions for Loans, were appointed to several

patriots, Sir Thomas Hutchinson and Sir Thomas Grantham, the gentleman of whom I am speaking, were confined from Nottingham and Lincolnshire to the house of one Sir Adam Newton in Kent; the good father little thinking then, that in that fatal country his son should suffer an imprisonment upon the same account, to the destruction of his life and family. Sir Thomas Grantham was a gentleman of great repute in his country, and kept up all his life the old hospitality of England, having a great retinue and a noble table, and a resort for all the nobility and gentry in those parts. He had only two sons, whereof the eldest was a fine gentleman, bred beyond the seas, according to the best education of those times; the other was a foolish youth, schoolfellow with Mr. Hutchinson, who every Saturday night was fetched from school to Sir Thomas Grantham's, and returned again the Monday morning. Upon the intimate friendship between Sir Thomas Hutchinson and this gentleman, Sir Thomas Hutchinson had a lodging always kept for him at Lincoln, and was very often there. My Lady Grantham had with her a very pretty young gentlewoman, whom she brought with her out of

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confinements, not in their own but foreign counties." Rushworth gives a list in which he states that "Sir Thomas Grantham, and some others in the county of Lincoln, were removed and secured in the county of Dorset." Sir Thomas Hutchinson is not mentioned by name.

Kent, the daughter of Sir Adam Newton; my lady's design was to begin an early acquaintance, which might after draw on a marriage between her and Mr. Hutchinson, and it took such effect that there was a great inclination in the young gentlewoman to him; and so much good-nature on his side, as amounted to a mutual respect, and to such a friendship as their youth was capable of, which the parents and others that wished so, interpreted to be a passion of love; but if it were so, death quenched the flame, and ravished the young lady from him in the sweet blooming of her youth. That night she died, he lay in his father's chamber, and by accident being very sick, it was imputed to that cause; but he himself least perceived he had any more of love for her than gratitude for her kindness to him, upon which account her death was an affliction to him, and made that house which had been his relief from his hated school less pleasant to him; especially when he met there continual solicitations to sin by the travelled gentleman, who, living in all seeming sobriety before his father, was in his own chamber not only vicious himself, but full of endeavour to corrupt Mr. Hutchinson, who by the grace of God resisted, and detested his frequent temptations of all kinds. The advantage he had at this school, there being very many gentlemen's sons there, an old Low-country soldier was

entertained to train them in arms, and they all bought themselves weapons; and, instead of childish sports, when they were not at their books, they were exercised in all their military postures, and in assaults and defences; which instruction was not useless a few years after, to some of them. Colonel Thornhagh, who was now trained in this sportive militia, with Colonel Hutchinson, afterwards was his fellow-soldier in earnest, when the great cause of God's and England's rights came to be disputed with swords against encroaching princes. Sir Thomas Grantham dying, Mr. Hutchinson was removed from Lincoln to the free-school at Nottingham, where his father married a second wife, and for a while went up to London with her; leaving his son at board in a very religious house, where new superstitions and pharisaical holiness, straining at gnats and swallowing camels, gave him a little disgust, and was for a while a stumbling-block in his way of purer profession, when he saw among professors such unsuitable miscarriages. There was now a change in the condition and contentment of his life; he was old enough to be sensible that his father's second love and marriage to a person of such quality, as required a settlement for her son, must needs be a lessening to his expectation; but he was so affectionate to his father that he received it very contentedly, and rejoiced in his removal, coming from a supercilious pedant to a very honest

man, who using him with respect, advanced him more in one month than the other did in a year. This tied him to no observation, nor restrained him from no pleasure, nor needed not, for he was so moderate when he was left at his liberty, that he needed no regulation. The familiar kindness of his master made him now begin to love that which the other's austerity made him loath; and in a year's time he advanced exceedingly in learning, and was sent to Cambridge. He was made a fellow-commoner of Peter House, under the tuition of one Mr. Norwich, an admirable scholar, who by his civil demeanour to him won so much upon his good nature, that he loved and reverenced him as a father, and betook himself with such delight to his studies that he attained to a great height of learning, performed public exercises in his college with much applause, and upon their importunity took a degree in the university; whereof he was at that time the grace, there not being any gentleman in the town that lived with such regularity in himself, and such general love and good esteem of all persons as he did. He kept not company with any of the vain young persons, but with the graver men, and those by whose conversation he might gain improvement. He was constant at their chapel, where he began to take notice of their stretching superstition to idolatry; and was courted much into a more solemn practice of it than he could admit, though as yet

he considered not the emptiness and carnality, to say no more, of that public service which was then in use. For his exercise he practised tennis, and played admirable well at it; for his diversion, he chose music, and got a very good hand, which afterwards he improved to a great mastery on the viol. There were masters that taught to dance and vault, whom he practised with, being very agile and apt for all such becoming exercises. His father stinted not his expense, which the bounty of his mind made pretty large, for he was very liberal to his tutors and servitors, and to the meaner officers of the house. He was enticed to bow to their great idol, learning, and had a higher veneration for it a long time than can strictly be allowed; yet he then looked upon it as a handmaid to devotion, and as the great improver of natural reason. His tutor and the masters that governed the college while he was there, were of Arminian principles, and that college was noted above all for popish superstitious practices;[1] yet through the grace of God, notwith-

[1] Dr. Gardner speaks of Peter House as "the college of Cosin and Crashaw, the college which, more than any other, attempted to exorcise the spirit of Puritanism" ("Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I.," i. 28). It might have been expected that the son of Puritan parents would be entered rather at Sidney Sussex or Emmanuel. Sidney Sussex was the college at which Cromwell and the Earl of Manchester were educated. But Emmanuel was, *par excel-*

standing the mutual kindness the whole household had for him and he for them, he came away, after five years study there, untainted with those principles or practices, though not yet enlightened to discern the spring of them in the rights and usages of the English church.

When he came from the university, he was about twenty years of age, and returned to his father's house, who had now settled his habitation at Nottingham; but he there enjoyed no great delight, another brood of children springing up in the house, and the servants endeavouring with tales and flatteries to sow dissension on both sides. Therefore, having a great reverence for his father, and being not willing to disturb him with complaints, as soon as he could obtain his leave he went to London. In the meantime the best company the town afforded him, was a gentleman of as exquisite breeding and parts as England's court

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lence, the Puritan college. "In the house of pure Emmanuel," says Corbet's "Mad Zealot"—

> "I had my education,
> Where my friends surmise
> I dazzled mine eyes,
> With the light of Revelation."

Laud, in his "Considerations presented to the King for better settling the Church Government" (1628), complained of these two colleges as nurseries of Puritanism. On the Popish Practices at Peter House, *vide* Prynne, "Canterbury's Doom," pp. 73, 74.

ever enjoyed, one that was now married, and retired into this town; one of such admirable power of language and persuasion as was not any where else to be found; but after all this, discontents, or the debaucheries of the times, had so infected him, that he would not only debauch himself, but make a delight to corrupt others for his sport. Some he would commend into such a vain-glorious humour, that they became pleasantly ridiculous; some he would teach apish postures, and make them believe themselves rare men; some he would encourage to be poets, and laugh at their ridiculous rhymes; some young preachers he would make stage-players in their pulpits; and several ways sported himself with the follies of most of the young men that he conversed with. There was not any way which he left unpractised upon Mr. Hutchinson; but when, with all his art and industry he found he could not prevail, then he turned seriously to give him such excellent advice and instructions for living in the world, as were not afterwards unuseful to him.[1] There was besides this gentleman, a young physician, who was a good scholar and had a great deal of wit, but withal a professed atheist, and so proud, insolent a scurrilous fellow, daring to abuse all persons how much soever above him, that

[1] Who the first gentleman was does not appear. The physician here meant is Dr. Plumtre, of whom much more will be said in this work.—J. H.

he was thrown out of familiarity with the great people of the country, though his excellency in his profession made him to be taken in again. There was also an old man, who had been Mr. Hutchinson's first schoolmaster, a person once of great learning, but afterwards becoming a cynic, yet so pleasantly maintaining that kind of humour, that his conversation was sometimes a good diversion. These were Mr. Hutchinson's companions, yet, through the grace of God, they had not power to infect him, who, like a bee, sucked a great deal of honey from these bitter flowers. At that time there was in the town a young maid, beautiful, and esteemed to be very rich, but of base parentage and penurious education, though else ingenuous enough. She was the grandchild of an old physician, and from her childhood having been acquainted with Mr. Hutchinson, who used to visit her grandmother, she had conceived a kindness for him, which though he civilly resented,[1] his great heart could never stoop to think of marrying into so mean a stock; yet by reason of some liking he showed for her company, and the melancholy he had, with some discontents at home, she was willing to flatter herself it was love for her, wherein, when she dis-

[1] Resent, in English, never used but in a bad sense; in French, *ressentir* is used to signify a reciprocal sentiment of kindness as well as unkindness.—J. H.

covered her mistake, it was a great grief. However, she was, without much love on either side, married to an earl's son, and both of them, wanting the ground of happiness in marriage, mutual love, enjoyed but little felicity, either in their great fortunes or in one another.[1]

In the house with Mr. Hutchinson there was a young gentlewoman of such admirable tempting beauty, and such excellent good nature, as would have thawed a rock of ice, yet even she could never get an acquaintance with him. Wealth and beauty thus in vain tempted him, for it was not yet his time of love; but it was not far off. He was now sent to London, and admitted of Lincoln's Inn, where he was soon coveted into the acquaintance of some gentlemen of the house; but he found them so frothy and so vain, and could so ill centre with them in their delights, that the town began to be tedious to him, who was neither taken with wine, nor game, nor the converse of wicked or vain

[1] It is written in the margin by Julius Hutchinson, Esq., probably from the information given him by Lady Catharine Hutchinson, that this lady's name was Martin, and the gentleman who married her Mr. Pierrepont. It would not have been thought worth while to inform the reader of these minute particulars in a note, but for the sake of pointing out the accuracy with which Mr. Julius Hutchinson read and remarked upon this history, and the full knowledge he had of all the circumstances of Colonel Hutchinson's life.—J. H.

women; to all which he wanted not powerful tempters, had not the power of God's grace in him been above them. He tried a little the study of the law, but finding it unpleasant and contrary to his genius, and the plague that spring beginning to drive people out of the town, he began to think of leaving it, but had no inclination to return home, finding his father's heart so set upon his second family, that his presence was but disturbance: yet his father was wonderfully free and noble to him in allowance, at all places, as large as any of his quality had made to them; and it was very well bestowed on him, who consumed nothing in vain expense, but lived to the honour of his friends and family. For his diversion he exercised himself in those qualities he had not had such good opportunities for in the country, as dancing, fencing, and music, wherein he had great aptness and address; and entertaining the best tutors, was at some expense that way, and loth to leave them off before he had perfected himself. However, many things putting him into the thoughts of quitting the town, while he was in deliberation how to dispose of himself, and had some reflections upon travel, a cousin-german of his, a French merchant, came to visit him one morning, and told him he was immediately going into France, and understanding Mr. Hutchinson had some such inclination, had almost persuaded him to go along with him. The only

obstacle in the way, was that his father could not be acquainted with it time enough to receive his answer before they went. While he was in this deliberation, his music-master came in, to whom he communicated his thoughts; and the man told him it was better to go into France at the latter end than the beginning of summer, and that if he pleased, in the mean time, to go to Richmond, where the Prince's court was, he had a house there, where he might be accommodated; and there was very good company and recreations, the king's hawks being kept near the place, and several other conveniences. Mr. Hutchinson considering this, resolved to accept his offer; and that day telling a gentleman of the house whither he was going, the gentleman bid him take heed of the place, for it was so fatal for love, that never any young disengaged person went thither, who returned again free. Mr. Hutchinson laughed at him, but he to confirm it told him a very true story of a gentleman who not long before had come for some time to lodge there, and found all the people he came in company with, bewailing the death of a gentlewoman that had lived there. Hearing her so much deplored, he made inquiry after her, and grew so in love with the description that no other discourse could at first please him, nor could he at last endure any other; he grew desperately melancholy, and would go to a mount where the print of her

foot was cut, and lie there pining and kissing of it all the day long, till at length death, in some months' space, concluded his languishment. This story was very true; but Mr. Hutchinson was neither easy to believe it, nor frighted at the example, thinking himself not likely to make another. He therefore went to Richmond, where he found a great deal of good young company, and many ingenuous persons that, by reason of the court, where the young princes were bred, entertained themselves in that place, and had frequent resort to the house where Mr. Hutchinson tabled. The man being a skilful composer in music, the rest of the king's musicians often met at his house to practise new airs and prepare them for the king; and divers of the gentlemen and ladies that were affected with music, came thither to hear; others that were not, took that pretence to entertain themselves with the company. Mr. Hutchinson was soon courted into their acquaintance, and invited to their houses, where he was nobly treated, with all the attractive arts that young women and their parents use to procure them lovers; but though some of them were very handsome, others wealthy, witty, and well qualified, and all of them set out with all the gaiety and bravery that vain women put on to set themselves off, yet Mr. Hutchinson could not be entangled in any of their fine snares, but without any taint of incivility, in such a way of handsome raillery reproved

their pride and vanity, as made them ashamed of their glory, and vexed that he alone, of all the young gentlemen that belonged to the court or neighbourhood, should be insensible of their charms. In the same house with him there was a younger daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, late lieutenant of the Tower, tabled for the practice of her lute, till the return of her mother, who was gone into Wiltshire for the accomplishment of a treaty that had been made some progress in, about the marriage of her elder daughter with a gentleman of that country, out of which my lady herself came, and where her brothers, Sir John St. John and Sir Edward Hungerford, living in great honour and reputation, had invited her to a visit of them. This gentlewoman, that was left in the house with Mr. Hutchinson, was a very child, her elder sister being at that time scarcely passed it; but a child of such pleasantness and vivacity of spirit, and ingenuity in the quality she practised, that Mr. Hutchinson took pleasure in hearing her practise, and would fall in discourse with her. She having the keys of her mother's house, some half a mile distant, would sometimes ask Mr. Hutchinson, when she went over, to walk along with her. One day when he was there, looking upon an odd by-shelf in her sister's closet, he found a few Latin books; asking whose they were, he was told they were her elder sister's; whereupon, inquiring more after her, he began first

to be sorry she was gone, before he had seen her, and gone upon such an account that he was not likely to see her. Then he grew to love to hear mention of her, and the other gentlewomen who had been her companions used to talk much to him of her, telling him how reserved and studious she was, and other things which they esteemed no advantage. But it so much inflamed Mr. Hutchinson's desire of seeing her, that he began to wonder at himself, that his heart, which had ever had so much indifferency for the most excellent of womankind, should have such strong impulses towards a stranger he never saw; and certainly it was of the Lord (though he perceived it not), who had ordained him, through so many various providences, to be yoked with her in whom he found so much satisfaction. There scarcely passed any day but some accident or some discourse still kept alive his desire of seeing this gentlewoman; although the mention of her, for the most part, was inquiries whether she had yet accomplished the marriage that was in treaty. One day there was a great deal of company at Mr. Coleman's, the gentleman's house where he tabled, to hear the music; and a certain song was sung, which had been lately set, and gave occasion to some of the company to mention an answer to it, which was in the house, and upon some of their desires, read. A gentleman saying it was believed that a woman in the neighbourhood had made it,

it was presently inquired who; whereupon a gentleman, then present, who had made the first song, said, there were but two women that could be guilty of it, whereof one was a lady then among them, the other Mrs. Apsley. Mr. Hutchinson, fancying something of rationality in the sonnet beyond the customary reach of a she-wit, although, to speak truth, it signified very little, addressed himself to the gentleman, and told him he could scarcely believe it was a woman's; whereupon this gentleman, who was a man of good understanding and expression, and inspired with some passion for her himself, which made him regard all her perfections through a multiplying-glass, told Mr. Hutchinson, that though, for civility to the rest, he entitled another lady to the song, yet he was confident it was Mrs. Apsley's only, for she had sense above all the rest; and fell into such high praises of her, as might well have begotten those vehement desires of her acquaintance, which a strange sympathy in nature had before produced. Another gentleman, that sat by, seconded this commendation with such additions of praise as he would not have given if he had known her. Mr. Hutchinson hearing all this, said to the first gentleman, "I cannot be at rest till this lady's return, that I may be acquainted with her." The gentleman replied, "Sir, you must not expect that, for she is of a humour she will not be acquainted with any of mankind; and however this song is

stolen forth, she is the nicest creature in the world of suffering her perfections to be known; she shuns the converse of men as the plague; she only lives in the enjoyment of herself, and has not the humanity to communicate that happiness to any of our sex." "Well," said Mr. Hutchinson, "but I will be acquainted with her:" and indeed the information of this reserved humour pleased him more than all else he had heard, and filled him now with thoughts how he should attain the sight and knowledge of her. While he was exercised in this, many days passed not, but a footboy of my lady her mother's came to young Mrs. Apsley[1] as they were at dinner, bringing news that her mother and sister would in a few days return; and when they inquired of him, whether Mrs. Apsley was married; having before been instructed to make them believe it, he smiled, and pulled out some bride laces, which were given at a wedding, in the house where she was, and gave them to the young gentlewoman and the gentleman's daughter of the house, and told them Mrs. Apsley bade him tell no news, but give them those tokens, and carried the matter so, that all the company believed she had been married. Mr. Hutchinson immediately turned pale as ashes, and

[1] It was the custom at that time to call young ladies Mistress, not Miss. Shakespeare calls Ann Page, Mrs. Ann.—J. H.

felt a fainting to seize his spirits in that extraordinary manner, that, finding himself ready to sink at table, he was fain to pretend something had offended his stomach, and to retire from the table into the garden; where the gentleman of the house going with him, it was not necessary for him to feign sickness, for the distemper of his mind had infected his body with a cold sweat, and such a dispersion of spirit, that all the courage he could at present recollect, was little enough to keep him alive. His host was very troublesome to him, and to be quit of him he went to his chamber, saying he would lie down. Little did any of the company suspect the true cause of his sudden qualm, and they were all so troubled at it, that the boy then passed without further examination. When Mr. Hutchinson was alone he began to recollect his wisdom and his reason, and to wonder at himself, why he should be so concerned in an unknown person; he then remembered the story was told him when he came down, and began to believe there was some magic in the place, which enchanted men out of their right senses; but it booted him not to be angry at himself, nor to set wisdom in her reproving chair, nor reason in her throne of council, the sick heart could not be chid nor advised into health. This anxiety of mind affected him so, that it sent him to his bed that afternoon, which indeed he took to entertain his thoughts alone that night, and

having fortified himself with resolution, he gat up the next day; but yet could not quit himself of an extravagant perplexity of soul concerning this unknown gentlewoman, which had not been admirable in another light person, but in him, who was from his childhood so serious and so rational in all his considerations, it was the effect of a miraculous power of Providence, leading him to her that was destined to make his future joy. While she so ran in his thoughts, meeting the boy again, he found out, upon a little stricter examination of him, that she was not married, and pleased himself in the hopes of her speedy return; when one day, having been invited by one of the ladies of that neighbourhood to a noble treatment[1] at Sion Garden, which a courtier, that was her servant, had made for her and whom she would bring, Mr. Hutchinson, Mrs. Apsley, and Mr. Coleman's daughter were of the party, and having spent the day in several pleasant divertisements, at evening when they were at supper, a messenger came to tell Mrs. Apsley her mother was come. She would immediately have gone, but Mr. Hutchinson, pretending civility to conduct her home, made her stay till the supper was ended, of which he ate no more, now only longing for that sight which he had with such perplexity expected. This at length he obtained; but

[1] *i.e.*, treat, entertainment.

his heart, being prepossessed with his own fancy, was not free to discern how little there was in her to answer so great an expectation. She was not ugly in a careless riding-habit, she had a melancholy negligence both of herself and others, as if she neither affected to please others, nor took notice of anything before her; yet, in spite of all her indifferency, she was surprised with some unusual liking in her soul when she saw this gentleman, who had hair, eyes, shape, and countenance enough to beget love in any one at the first, and these set off with a graceful and generous mien, which promised an extraordinary person. He was at that time, and indeed always very neatly habited, for he wore good and rich clothes, and had a variety of them, and had them well suited and every way answerable; in that little thing, showing both good judgment and great generosity, he equally becoming them and they him, which he wore with such unaffectedness and such neatness as do not often meet in one. Although he had but an evening sight of her he had so long desired, and that at disadvantage enough for her; yet the prevailing sympathy of his soul made him think all his pains well paid, and this first did whet his desire to a second sight, which he had by accident the next day, and to his joy found that she was wholly disengaged from that treaty, which he so much feared had been accomplished; he found withal, that though she was

modest, she was accostable, and willing to entertain his acquaintance. This soon passed into a mutual friendship between them, and though she innocently thought nothing of love, yet was she glad to have acquired such a friend, who had wisdom and virtue enough to be trusted with her councils, for she was then much perplexed in mind. Her mother and friends had a great desire she should marry, and were displeased that she refused many offers which they thought advantageous enough; she was obedient, loth to displease them, but more herself, in marrying such as she could find no inclination to. The troublesome pretensions of some of the courtiers, had made her willing to try whether she could bring her heart to her mother's desire; but being, by a secret working which she then understood not, averted, she was troubled to return, lest some might believe it was a secret liking for them which had caused her dislike of others; and being a little disturbed with these things and melancholy, Mr. Hutchinson, appearing, as he was, a person of virtue and honour, who might be safely and advantageously conversed with, she thought God had sent her a happy relief. Mr. Hutchinson, on the other side, having been told, and seeing how she shunned all other men, and how civilly she entertained him, believed that a secret power had wrought a mutual inclination between them, and daily frequented her mother's house, and had the oppor-

tunity of conversing with her in those pleasant walks, which, at that sweet season of the spring, invited all the neighbouring inhabitants to seek their joys; where, though they were never alone, yet they had every day opportunity for converse with each other, which the rest shared not in, while every one minded their own delights.

They had not six weeks enjoyed this peace, but the young men and women, who saw them allow each other that kindness which they did not afford commonly to others, first began to grow jealous and envious at it, and after to use all the malicious practices they could invent to break the friendship. Among the rest, that gentleman who at the first had so highly commended her to Mr. Hutchinson, now began to caution him against her, and to disparage her, with such subtle insinuations, as would have ruined any love less constant and honourable than his. The women, with witty spite, represented all her faults to him, which chiefly terminated in the negligence of her dress and habit, and all womanish ornaments, giving herself wholly up to study and writing. Mr. Hutchinson, who had a very sharp and pleasant wit, retorted all their malice with such just reproofs of their idleness and vanity, as made them hate her, who, without affecting it, had so engaged such a person in her protection, as they with all their arts could not catch. He, in the meanwhile, prosecuted his love with so much discre-

tion, duty, and honour, that at the length, through many difficulties, he accomplished his design. I shall pass by all the little amorous relations, which, if I would take the pains to relate, would make a true history of a more handsome management of love than the best romances describe;[1] but these are to be forgotten as the vanities of youth, not worthy of mention among the greater transactions of his life. There is this only to be recorded, that never was there a passion more ardent and less idolatrous; he loved her better than his life, with inexpressible tenderness and kindness, had a most high obliging esteem of her, yet still considered honour, religion, and duty above her, nor ever suffered the intrusion of such a dotage as should blind him from marking her imperfections; these he looked upon with such an indulgent eye as did not abate his love and esteem of her, while it augmented his care to blot out all those spots which might make her appear less worthy of that respect he paid her; and thus indeed he soon made her more equal to him than he found her; for she was a very faithful mirror, reflecting truly, though but dimly, his own glories upon him, so

[1] What Mrs. Hutchinson passes by, a modern author has ventured to attempt:—The True and Romantic Love Story of Colonel and Mrs. Hutchinson. A drama in verse, by J. Antisell Allen. Elliot Stock. 1882. The drama is as bad as might be expected.

long as he was present; but she, that was nothing before his inspection gave her a fair figure, when he was removed, was only filled with a dark mist, and never could again take in any delightful object, nor return any shining representation. The greatest excellency she had was the power of apprehending and the virtue of loving his; so as his shadow she waited on him everywhere, till he was taken into that region of light which admits of none, and then she vanished into nothing. It was not her face he loved, her honour and her virtue were his mistresses; and these (like Pygmalion's) images of his own making, for he polished and gave form to what he found with all the roughness of the quarry about it; but meeting with a compliant subject for his own wise government, he found as much satisfaction as he gave, and never had occasion to number his marriage among his infelicities. That day that the friends on both sides met to conclude the marriage, she fell sick of the small-pox, which was many ways a great trial upon him. First, her life was almost in desperate hazard, and then the disease, for the present, made her the most deformed person that could be seen, for a great while after she recovered; yet he was nothing troubled at it, but married her as soon as she was able to quit the chamber, when the priest and all that saw her were affrighted to look on her; but God recompensed his justice and constancy by restoring her, though she was longer

than ordinary before she recovered, as well as before. One thing is very observable, and worthy imitation in him: although he had as strong and violent affections for her, as ever any man had, yet he declared it not to her till he had acquainted first his father; and afterwards he never would make any engagement but what his love and honour bound him in; wherein he was more firm and just than all the promissory oaths and ties in the world could have made him, notwithstanding many powerful temptations of wealth and beauty, and other interests, that were laid before him. For his father had concluded another treaty, before he knew his son's inclinations were this way fixed, with a party in many things much more advantageous for his family, and more worthy of his liking; but his father was no less honourably indulgent to his son's affection, than the son was strict in the observance of his duty; and at length, to the full content of all, the thing was accomplished, and on the third day of July, in the year 1638, he was married to Mrs. Lucy Apsley, the second daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, late lieutenant of the Tower of London, at St. Andrew's church in Holborn. He lived some time in this neighbourhood with her mother, but four months were scarce past after their marriage before he was in great danger to have lost her, when she lost two children she had conceived by him. Soon after conceiving again she grew so sickly,

that her indulgent mother and husband, for the advantage of her health, removed their dwelling out of the city, to a house they took in Enfield Chase, called the Blue House, where, upon the third of September, 1639, she was brought to bed of two sons, whereof the elder he named after his own father, Thomas, the younger was called Edward, who both survived him. September, 1641, she brought him another son, called by his own name, John, who lived scarce six years, and was a very hopeful child, full of his father's vigour and spirit, but death soon nipped that blossom.

Mr. Hutchinson, after about fourteen months' various exercise of his mind, in the pursuit of his love, being now at rest in the enjoyment of his wife, his next design was to draw her into his own country; but he would not set upon it too roughly, and therefore let her rest a while, when he had drawn her ten miles nearer it, out of the city where she had her birth and education, and where all her relations were most conversant, and which she could not suddenly resolve to quit altogether, to betake herself to the north, which was a formidable name among the London ladies. While she was weaning from the friends and places she had so long conversed in, Mr. Hutchinson employed his time in making an entrance upon the study of school divinity, wherein his father was the most eminent scholar of any gentleman in England, and had a

most choice library,[1] valued at a thousand pounds; which Mr. Hutchinson, mistakingly expecting to be part of his inheritance, thought it would be very inglorious for him not to understand how to make use of his father's books. Having therefore gotten into the house with him an excellent scholar in that kind of learning, he for two years made it the whole employment of his time. The gentleman that assisted him he converted to a right belief in that great point of predestination, he having been before of the Arminian judgment, till, upon the serious examination of both principles, and comparing them with the Scriptures, Mr. Hutchinson convinced him of the truth, and he grew so well instructed in this principle, that he was able to maintain it against any man. At that time, this great doctrine grew much out of fashion with the prelates, but was generally embraced by all religious and holy persons in the land. Mr. Hutchinson being desirous to inform himself thoroughly of it, when he

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[1] This is spoken of in the preface, and did in fact remain at Owthorpe, but probably was placed there by Charles, the son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson by his second wife: it was of excessively small value when taken possession of in the year 1776.

It is apparent, from Sir Thomas Hutchinson being upon all the committees for religion, as may be seen in Rushworth's collection, that he was in repute for this kind of knowledge.—J. H.

was able to manage the question, offered it to his father; but Sir Thomas would not declare himself on the point to him, nor indeed in any other, as we conceived, lest a father's authority should sway against his children's light, who he thought ought to discern things with their own eyes, and not with his. Mr. Hutchinson, taking delight in the study of divinity, presently left off all foolish nice points, that tended to nothing but vain brangling,[1] and employed his whole study in laying a foundation of sound and necessary principles, among which he gave the first place to this of God's absolute decrees. This was so far from producing a carelessness of life in him, a thing generally objected against this faith, that, on the other side, it excited him to a more strict and holy walking in thankfulness to God, who had been pleased to choose him out of the corrupted mass of lost mankind, to fix his love upon him, and give him the knowledge of himself by his ever-blessed Son. This principle of love and life in God, which had been given him when he discerned not what it was in himself, had from a child preserved him from wallowing in the mire of sin and wickedness, wherein most of the gentry of those

[1] *i.e.*, wrangling. This word is also used by Defoe. "In all the unhappy contentions among parties and factions in this brangling nation," &c.—A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty.

times were miserably plunged, except a few, that were therefore the scorn of mankind; and there were but few of those few, that had not natural and superstitious follies, that were in some kind justly ridiculous and contemptible. It was a remarkable providence of God in his life, that must not be passed over without special notice, that he gave him these two years' leisure, and a heart so to employ it, before the noise of war and tumult came in upon him. Yet about the year 1639, the thunder was heard afar off rattling in the troubled air, and even the most obscured woods were penetrated with some flashes, the forerunners of the dreadful storm which the next year was more apparent; but Mr. Hutchinson was not yet awakened till it pleased God to deliver him from a danger into which he had run himself, had not mercy prevented him. His wife having already two sons, and being again with child, considered that it would be necessary to seek an augmentation of revenue, or retire into a cheaper country; and more inclining to the first, than to leave at once her mother, and all the rest of her dear relations, she had propounded to him to buy an office, which he was not of himself very inclinable to; but, to give her and her mother satisfaction, he hearkened to a motion that was made him in that kind. Sir William Pennyman, who had married his cousin-german, a very worthy gentleman, who had great respect both

for and from his father, had purchased the chief office in the Star-chamber; the gentleman who held the next to him was careless and debauched, and thereby a great hindrance of Sir William's profits, who apprehended that if he could get an honest man into that place, they might mutually much advantage each other; whereupon he persuaded Mr. Hutchinson to buy the place, and offered him any terms, to go any share with him, or any way he could desire. Mr. Hutchinson treated with the gentleman, came to a conclusion, went down into the country, provided the money, and came up again, thinking presently to enter into the office; but the gentleman that should have sold it, being of an uncertain humour, thought to make the benefit of another term before he sold his place; and it pleased God, in the mean time, that arbitrary court was, by the parliament then sitting, taken away.[1] Mr. Hutchinson was very sensible of a peculiar providence to him herein, and resolved to adventure no more such hazards; but to retire to

[1] It is strange that the son of a member of the popular party should ever have contemplated purchasing a post in the Star-chamber. It was no doubt, as Mrs. Hutchinson hints, a result of the influence of her family, which was thoroughly royalist in feeling, and accustomed to live by the king's service. Offices were very generally bought and sold. Sir Allen Apsley paid £2400 for the Lieutenancy of the Tower.—"Court and Times of James I," vol. i. p. 388.

that place whither God seemed to have called him by giving him so good an interest there, and to study how he was to improve that talent. His wife, convinced by this kind check which God had given to her desires, that she ought to follow her husband where the Lord seemed to call him, went along with him, and about October 1641, they came to their house at Owthorpe. Here Mr. George Hutchinson (Sir Thomas being then chosen knight for Nottinghamshire, and sitting in the parliament at London) came and gave a glad entertainment of his brother and sister into the country, by his good company; and they were for a few months peaceful and happy in their own house, till the kingdom began to blaze out with the long-conceived flame of civil war. But here I must make a short digression from our particular actions, to sum up the state of the kingdom at that time, which though I cannot do exactly, yet I can truly relate what I was then able to take notice of; and if any one have a desire of more particular information, there were so many books then written, as will sufficiently give it them. And although those of our enemies are all fraught with abominable lies, yet if all ours were suppressed, even their own writings, impartially considered, would be a sufficient chronicle of their injustice and oppression; but I shall only mention what is necessary to be remembered, for the better carrying on of my purpose.

When the dawn of the gospel began to break

upon this isle, after the dark midnight of papacy, the morning was more cloudy here than in other places by reason of the state-interest, which was mixing and working itself into the interest of religion, and which in the end quite wrought it out. King Henry the Eighth, who by his royal authority cast out the pope, did not intend the people of the land should have any ease of oppression; but only changed their foreign yoke for home-bred fetters, dividing the pope's spoils between himself and his bishops, who cared not for their father at Rome, so long as they enjoyed their patrimony and their honours here under another head: so that I cannot subscribe to those who entitle that king to the honour of the reformation. But even then there wanted not many who discerned the corruptions that were retained in the church, and eagerly applied their endeavours to obtain a purer reformation; against whom, those who saw no need of further reformation, either through excess of joy for that which was already brought forth, or else through a secret love of superstition rooted in their hearts, thought this too much,—were bitterly incensed, and, hating that light which reproved their darkness, everywhere stirred up spirits of envy and persecution against them. Upon the great revolution which took place at the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the crown, the nation became divided into three great factions, the Papist, the State-pro-

testant, and the more religious zealots, who afterwards were branded with the name of Puritan.[1] In vain it was for these to address the queen and the parliament; for the bishops, under the specious pretences of uniformity and obedience, procured severe punishments to be inflicted on such as durst gainsay their determinations in all things concerning worship, whereupon some even in those godly days lost their lives.

The papists had a most inveterate hatred to all the protestants, but especially to those who were godly;[2] and they again many of them suffered their

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[1] The full significance of these terms is set forth in a political poem published in 1622, "The Interpreter, wherein three principal terms of state much mistaken by the vulgar are clearly unfolded." It is a satire expounding, from a Puritan point of view, the views on foreign and domestic policy of the parties defined by these three names. A Puritan ("so nicknamed, but indeed the sound Protestant") is one whose character abridged is, "he's one that would a subject be, no slave." A Protestant ("so will the formalist be named") "makes within his heart God of the king," is "an indifferent man, that with all faiths or none hold quarter can," "one that hath no eye beyond his private profit;" in short, "he's one that's no true subject, but a slave." A Papist is "Spain's subject and a Romish slave."

"The Interpreter" is reprinted in the sixth volume of Mr. Arber's "English Garner."

[2] Godly. The name always given by the Puritans to those of their own party, and not unfrequently so used by different sectaries at the present day.—J. H.

zeal to run out into bitter personal hate. Between these two extremes, the common protestants were in the middle, though I cannot reckon them as a virtuous medium; for of them the more profane and ignorant only left popery because it grew out of fashion, but in their hearts inclined that way; those who were peaceable, conscientious, or moral persons, inclined to the Puritans, of whom there were many that unwillingly bore the burden of the ceremonies, for quietness' sake, and through false doctrine of their unfaithful teachers, as well as some that discerned the base and carnal minds of those seducers, and would not be persuaded by them to defile their consciences. The former sort of these, in zeal to reduce the whole land from their idolatrous practices, procured laws and invented oaths to suppress popery, which they little thought, but we now sadly find, are the bitterest engines to batter down the pure worship and destroy the pure worshippers of God;[1] which I have often looked upon as an evidence that God is not pleased with the conversions that are enforced by men's laws. We have spiritual weapons given us for spiritual combats, and those who go about to conquer subjects for Christ with

[1] This is probably an allusion to the Corporation Act, passed in December 1661, by which the holders of municipal offices were obliged to receive the sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England.

swords of steel, shall find the base metal break to shivers when it is used, and hurtfully fly in their own faces.

About the time of the reformation, there was a great change in the civil interest of all that part of the world which had long lain under the bondage of the Roman prelate and his tyrannical clergy. These had by degrees so encroached upon all the secular princes, that they were nothing but vassals and hangmen to the proud insolent priest. Obtaining his empire by fraud, false doctrine, lies, and hypocrisy, he maintained it by blood and rapine, till it pleased God to cause that light to break forth about Luther's time, which hath ever since been increasing; and, notwithstanding all the attempts of Satan and his ministers, it will in the end grow up to a glorious flame and quite devour that bloody city. When the wrath of princes and priests was in vain at first blown up against the professors of the gospel, and their blood and ashes became fruitful seed in God's field, then the old fox comes into the fold as a lamb, and seduces some of them that saw the approach of Christ's kingdom, to set it up irregularly; and, indeed (though I know not whether they perceived their own delusion), to set up themselves in Christ's throne, casting down the thrones of all other magistrates, and destroying the properties of men, and ruling by their own arbitrary lust, which they brought forth in the name of God's

law.[1] This example was so threatening to all mankind, that the gospel itself, from the adversaries thereof, suffered much reproach upon this miscarriage; whereupon the Protestants, in all places, to clear themselves from the just aspersions which the Munster anabaptists and others had occasioned, fell into an error on the other hand, not much less hurtful in the consequence; for to flatter the princes of the world, whether popish or protestant, they invested them with God's prerogative, and preached to them and the people such doctrines as only changed the idol, but left the idolatry still in practice.[2]

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[1] A description of the principles of the most extravagant of those whom in history they call Fifth Monarchy Men, from their affecting to set up the empire of Christ as the fifth; the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, being the first four.—J. H.

[2] Two good instances of this practice in England occurred in two sermons preached in 1627. Dr. Sibthorpe, preaching on the text, "Render therefore to all their dues," asserted that "the prince doth whatever pleaseth him. If princes command anything which subjects may not perform, because it is against the laws of God or nature, or impossible, yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment without either resistance or railing, and so to yield a passive obedience where they cannot exhibit an active one." At the same time Dr. Manwaring taught that "the king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subject's rights and liberties, but that his royal will and command in imposing loans and taxes without common

The popes of Rome had for many ages challenged and practised a power to disthrone princes, to give away their realms, to interdict whole kingdoms and provinces, and devote them to slaughter, to loose subjects from all bonds and oaths of allegiance to their sovereigns, and to stir up both princes and people to the mutual murder of each other; which abominable courses had been justly cast upon them as reproach, they pretending to do all these things for the propagation of the true worship and the advance of God's glory. This reproach they retorted when some protestants, upon the same pretence, did maintain that idolatrous princes were to be removed, and such magistrates set up as feared God, who were guardians of both tables, and bound to compel all their people to the right religion. This confusion was there among the sons of darkness at the first appearance of gospel light.

About this time in the kingdom of Scotland there was a wicked queen, daughter of a mother that came out of the bloody house of Guise,[1] and brought up in

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consent in Parliament, doth oblige the subjects' conscience, on pain of eternal damnation." See also the longer passages quoted by Mr. Gardiner from Manwaring's sermon ("England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I.," ii. 175). James had discouraged such utterances: with his son they marked out the preacher from whom they came for speedy promotion.

[1] Mary, Queen of Scots.—J. H.

the popish religion, which she zealously persevered in, as most suitable to her bloody lustful temper; she being guilty of murders and adulteries, and hateful for them to the honestest of the people, was deposed, imprisoned, and forced to fly for her life; but her son was received into the throne, and educated after the strictest way of the protestant religion according to Calvin's form. Those who were chiefly active and instrumental in the justice executed on this wicked queen, were the reformers of religion in Scotland, which made the neighbouring idolatrous princes to fear them of the same faith. About the same time likewise, the provinces of the Netherlands united themselves in a resistance against the king of Spain, and cast off that yoke wherewith he had most barbarously galled them. The king of France, persecuting his protestant subjects with much inhuman violence, forced them to defend themselves against his unsanctified League, and much blood was shed in those civil wars; till at length those who had had so much experience of God's providence in delivering them from their cruel princes, were persuaded to make up an alliance with the enemies of God and religion, and by the treacherous foe drawn into his snares, where they were most wickedly and barbarously massacred.[1]

[1] The famous massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day at Paris.—J. H.

Now, although religion were the main ground of those bloody quarrels, yet there were, in all these countries, many disputes of civil right, which for the most part bore the face of the wars, whereat I have only hinted, in this survey of the condition of other states, and their interests in those days and since; which is something necessary to be known for the better understanding of our own, with which I shall now proceed.

The civil government of England, from the time called the Conquest, had been administered by a King, Lords, and Commons, in a way of Parliaments; the parliament entrusted with the legislative, and the king with the executive power; but several of the kings, not satisfied with their bounded monarchy, made attempts to convert it into an absolute sovereignty, attempts fatal both to themselves and their people, and ever unsuccessful. For the generous people of England, as they were the most free and obsequious subjects in the world to those princes that managed them with a kind and tender hand, commanding them as freemen, not as slaves, so were they the most untameable, invincible people, in defence of their freedoms against all those usurping lords that scorned to allow them liberty. The nobility of the realm having at first the great balance of the lands, and retaining some of that free honourable virtue, for which they were exalted above the vulgar, ever stood up in the people's defence and

curbed the wild ambition of the tyrants, whom they sometimes reduced to moderation, and sometimes deposed for their misgovernments; till, at length the kings, eager to break this yoke, had insensibly worn out the interest of the nobility, by drawing them to their courts, where luxuries melted away the great estates of some, others were destroyed by confiscations in divers civil wars, and others otherwise mouldered with time. While the kings were glad to see the abatement of that power, which had been such a check to their exorbitancies, they perceived not the growing of another more dangerous to them; and that when the nobility shrunk into empty names, the throne lost its supporters, and had no more but a little puff of wind to bear it up, when the full body of the people came rolling in upon it. The interest of the people, which had been many years growing, made an extraordinary progress in the days of King Henry the Eighth, who returning the vast revenues of the church into the body of the people, cast the balance clear on their side, and left them now only to expect[1] an opportunity to resume their power into their own hands; and had not differences in religion divided them among themselves, and thereby prolonged the last gasps of expiring monarchy,

[1] Expect, a Latinism; expectare, to wait for; or, Italian, aspettare, id.—J. H.

they had long since exercised it in a free commonwealth.

England was not an idle spectator of the great contest between the papist and protestant, in which all Christendom seemed to be engaged. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the protestant interest, being her peculiar interest, that princess became not only glorious in the defence of her own realm, but in the protection she gave to the whole protestant cause in all the neighbouring kingdoms; wherefore, as if it had been devolved upon her person, the Pope shot all his arrows at her head, and set on many desperate assassinations against her, which, by the good providence of God, were all frustrated, and she, not only miraculously delivered from those wretches, but renowned at home and abroad for successes against her rebellious subjects in England and Ireland, and for the assistance of her distressed neighbours; but, above all, for the mercy which it pleased God to afford her and this realm in the year 1588, when the invading Spaniard had devoured us in his proud hopes, and by the mighty hand of God was scattered as a mist before the morning beams. That which kept alive the hopes of the papists, most part of her reign, was the expectation of the Queen of Scots, who, entering into confederacy with them, lost her head for the forfeit, wherein the Duke of Norfolk suffered also for her the loss of his. The Queen of England was very

loath to execute this necessary justice; but the true-hearted protestants of her council, foreseeing the sad effects that might be expected if ever she arrived to the crown, urged it on; and after the death of Queen Elizabeth, the wiser of them much opposed the admission of her son. But he, dissembling the resentment of his mother's death, by bribes and greater promises, managed a faction in the court of the declining queen, which prevailed on her dotage to destroy the Earl of Essex, the only person who would have had the courage to keep out him they thought it dangerous to let in. So subtlely brought they their purpose about, that wise counsel was in vain to a blinded and betrayed people. The anti-prelatical party hoping that, with a king bred up among the Calvinists, they should now be freed from the episcopal yoke, were greedy of entertaining him, but soon cured of their mistake; when, immediately after his entry into the kingdom, himself being moderator at a dispute between both parties,[1] the nonconformists were cast out of doors, the offensive ceremonies, instead of being removed, were more strictly imposed, the penalties against papists relaxed, and many of them taken into favour, those families who suffered for his mother were graced and restored as far as the times would bear, and

[1] At the Hampton Court Conference.

those who consented any way to the justice done upon her, disfavoured. A progress was made suitable to this beginning, the protestant interest abroad was deserted and betrayed, the prelates at home daily exalted in pride and pomp, and declining in virtue and godliness. Arminianism crept in to the corruption of sound doctrine, till at length they had the impudence to forbid the preaching of those great and necessary truths concerning the decrees of God; secret treaties were entertained with the court of Rome; and, notwithstanding that hellish powder plot, the papists lost not their credit at court, where they now wrought no longer by open and direct ways, but humouring the king and queen in their lusts and excesses, they found the most ready way to destroy the doctrine of the gospel was to debauch the professors. The court of this king was a nursery of lust and intemperance; he had brought in with him a company of poor Scots, who, coming into this plentiful kingdom, were surfeited with riot and debaucheries, and got all the riches of the land only to cast away. The honour, wealth, and glory of the nation, wherein Queen Elizabeth left it, were soon prodigally wasted by this thriftless heir; and the nobility of the land was utterly debased by setting honours to public sale, and conferring them on persons that had neither blood nor merit fit to wear, nor estates to bear up their titles, but were fain to invent projects

to pill[1] the people, and pick their purses for the maintenance of vice and lewdness. The generality of the gentry of the land soon learned the court fashion, and every great house in the country became a sty of uncleanness. To keep the people in their deplorable security, till vengeance overtook them, they were entertained with masks, stage plays, and sorts of ruder sports. Then began murder, incest, adultery, drunkenness, swearing, fornication, and all sort of ribaldry, to be no concealed but countenanced vices, because they held such conformity with the court example. Next to this, a great cause of these abominations was the mixed marriages of papist and protestant families, which, no question, was a design of the popish party to compass and procure; and so successful, that I have observed that there was not one house in ten, where such a marriage was made, but the better party was corrupted, the children's souls were sacrificed to devils, the worship of God was laid aside in that family, for fear of distasting the idolater; the kindred, tenants, and neighbours, either quite turned from it, or cooled in their zeal for religion. As the fire is most fervent in a frosty season, so the general

[1] *i.e.*, pillage, plunder; compare Shakspere, *Richard II.*, Act ii. sc. 2, "The commons hath he pilled with grievous taxes, and quite lost their hearts."

apostacy from holiness, if I may so call it, and defection to lewdness, stirred up sorrow, indignation, and fear, in all that retained any love of God in the land, whether ministers or people; the ministers warned the people of the approaching judgments of God, which could not be expected but to follow such high provocations; God in his mercy sent his prophets into all corners of the land, to preach repentance, and cry out against the ingratitude of England, who thus requited so many rich mercies that no nation could ever boast of more; and by these a few were everywhere converted and established in faith and holiness; but at court they were hated, disgraced, and reviled, and in scorn had the name of Puritan fixed upon them. And now the ready way to preferment there, was to declare an opposition to the power of godliness, under that name; so that their pulpits might justly be called the scorner's chair, those sermons only pleasing that flattered them in their vices, and told the poor king that he was Solomon, and that his sloth and cowardice, by which he betrayed the cause of God and honour of the nation, was gospel meekness and peaceableness; for which they raised him up above the heavens, while he lay wallowing like a swine in the mire of his lust. He had a little learning, and this they called the spirit of wisdom, and so magnified him, so falsely flattered him, that he could not endure the words of truth

and soundness, but rewarded these base, wicked, unfaithful fawners with rich preferments, attended with pomps and titles, which heaved them up above a human height. With their pride, their envy swelled against the people of God, whom they began to project how they might root out of the land; and when they had once given them a name, whatever was odious or dreadful to the king, they fixed upon the Puritan, who, according to their character, was nothing but a factious hypocrite.

The king had upon his heart the dealings both of England and Scotland with his mother, and harboured a secret desire of revenge upon the godly in both nations, yet had not courage enough to assert his resentment like a prince, but employed a wicked cunning he was master of, and called kingcraft, to undermine what he durst not openly oppose,—the true religion; this was fenced with the liberty of the people, and so linked together, that it was impossible to make them slaves, till they were brought to be idolaters of royalty and glorious lust; and as impossible to make them adore these gods, while they continued loyal to the government of Jesus Christ. The payment of civil obedience to the king and the laws of the land satisfied not; if any durst dispute his impositions in the worship of God, he was presently reckoned among the seditious and disturbers of the public peace, and accordingly persecuted; if any were grieved at the dishonour

of the kingdom, or the griping of the poor, or the unjust oppressions of the subject, by a thousand ways, invented to maintain the riots of the courtiers, and the swarms of needy Scots the king had brought in to devour like locusts the plenty of this land, he was a Puritan;[1] if any, out of mere morality and civil honesty, discountenanced the abominations of those days, he was a Puritan, however he conformed to their superstitious worship; if any showed favour to any godly honest person, kept them company, relieved them in want, or protected them against violent or unjust oppression, he was a Puritan; if any gentleman in his country maintained the good laws of the land, or stood up for any public interest, for good order or government, he was a Puritan: in short, all that crossed the views of the needy courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the thievish projectors, the lewd nobility and gentry—whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship, could not endure blasphemous oaths, ribald conversation, profane scoffs, Sabbath-breaking, derision of the word

[1] Compare Sir Benjamin Rudyard's speech in the Long Parliament. "Whosoever squares his actions by any rule, either divine or human, he is a Puritan; whosoever would be governed by the king's laws, he is a Puritan. He that will not do whatsoever men would have him do, he is a Puritan. Their great work, their masterpiece now, is to make all those of the religion to be the suspected party of the kingdom."

The Puritan party being weak and oppressed, had not faith enough to disown all that adhered to them for worldly interests, and indeed it required more than human wisdom to discern at the least all of them; wherefore they, in their low condition, gladly accepted any that would come over to them, or incline towards them; and their enemies, through envy at them, augmented much their party, while, with injuries and reproaches, they drove many, that never intended it, to take that party; which in the end got nothing but confusion by those additions. While these parties were thus counter-working, the treasure of the kingdom being wasted by court-caterpillars, and parliaments called to re-supply the royal coffers, therein there wanted not some, that retained so much of the English spirit as to represent the public grievances, and desire to call the corrupt ministers of state to an account. But the king, grudging that his people should dare to gainsay his pleasure, and correct his misgovernment in his favourites, broke up parliaments, violated their privileges, imprisoned their members for things spoken in the house, and grew disaffected to them, and entertained projects of supply by other grievances of the people. The prelates, in the meantime, finding they lost ground, meditated reunion with the popish faction, who began to be at a pretty agreement with them; and now there was no more endeavour in their public sermons to confute the

errors of that church, but to reduce our doctrines and theirs to an accommodation. The king, to bring it about, was deluded into the treaty of a match for his son with the Infanta of Spain; and the prince, with the Duke of Buckingham, was privately sent into Spain, from whence he came back with difficulty, but to the great rejoicing of the whole people in general, who were much afflicted at his going thither. During this treaty the papists got many advantages of the king, to the prejudice of the protestant interest at home and abroad, and the hearts of all but the papists were very much saddened; and the people loath to lay the miscarriages of things at the king's own door, began to entertain a universal hatred of the Duke of Buckingham, raised from a knight's fourth son to that pitch of glory, and enjoying great possessions, acquired by the favour of the king, upon no merit but that of his beauty and his prostitution. The parliament had drawn up a charge against him, and though the king seemed to protect him, yet knowing the fearfulness of his nature, and doubting his constancy, it was believed he added some help to an ague that killed that king;[1] however the king died,

[1] According to Mr. Gardiner, the suspicion was founded on the following facts. During the last illness of King James, "he remembered, or was reminded, that when Buckingham had been ill in the spring, he had been benefited by some remedies recommended by a country doctor

and the duke continued as high in the favour of the next succeeding as of the deceased prince; whereupon one, not unaptly, says of him, "he seemed as an unhappy exhalation, drawn up from the earth, not only to cloud the setting, but the rising sun."[1]

The face of the court was much changed in the change of the king, for King Charles was temperate, chaste, and serious; so that the fools and bawds, mimics and catamites, of the former court, grew out of fashion; and the nobility and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their debaucheries, had yet that reverence to the king to retire into corners to practise them. Men of learning and ingenuity in

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living at Dunmow. Under the directions, it would seem, of Buckingham's mother, a messenger was despatched to Dunmow, and the result was a posset drink given by the duke himself, and some plaister applied to the king's stomach and wrists by the countess, with all the zeal which elderly ladies are apt to throw into the administration of remedies suggested by themselves." These remedies do not seem to have injured the king, but they did him no good, and naturally roused the objections of his physicians. The story got abroad, and it became an article of belief amongst the people, that Buckingham and his mother had poisoned the king. See the following pamphlets—"The Forerunner of Revenge," by George Eglisham, Harleian Miscellany, ii. 61; and "Strange Apparitions, or the Ghost of King James," Harleian Miscellany, iv. 501.

[1] "Like an unhappy vapour, exhaled from the earth to so great a height, as to cloud not only the setting but the rising sun."—May, "History of the Long Parliament," p. 6.

all arts were in esteem, and received encouragement from the king, who was a most excellent judge and a great lover of paintings, carvings, gravings, and many other ingenuities, less offensive than the bawdry and profane abusive wit which was the only exercise of the other court. But, as in the primitive times, it is observed that the best emperors were some of them stirred up by Satan to be the bitterest persecutors of the church, so this king was a worse encroacher upon the civil and spiritual liberties of his people by far than his father. He married a papist, a French lady, of a haughty spirit, and a great wit and beauty, to whom he became a most uxorious husband. By this means the court was replenished with papists, and many who hoped to advance themselves by the change, turned to that religion. All the papists in the kingdom were favoured, and, by the king's example, matched into the best families; the Puritans more than ever discountenanced and persecuted, insomuch that many of them chose to abandon their native country, and leave their dearest relations, to retire into any foreign soil or plantation, where they might, amidst all outward inconveniences, enjoy the free exercise of God's worship. Such as could not flee were tormented in the bishops' courts, fined, whipped, pilloried, imprisoned, and suffered to enjoy no rest, so that death was better than life to them; and notwithstanding their patient sufferance of all these

things, yet was not the king satisfied till the whole land were reduced to perfect slavery. The example of the French king was propounded to him, and he thought himself no monarch so long as his will was confined to the bounds of any law; but knowing that the people of England were not pliable to an arbitrary rule, he plotted to subdue them to his yoke by a foreign force, and till he could effect it, made no conscience of granting anything to the people, which he resolved should not oblige him longer than it served his turn; for he was a prince that had nothing of faith or truth, justice or generosity, in him. He was the most obstinate person in his self-will that ever was, and so bent upon being an absolute, uncontrollable sovereign, that he was resolved either to be such a king or none. His firm adherence to prelacy was not for conscience of one religion more than another, for it was his principle that an honest man might be saved in any profession; but he had a mistaken principle that kingly government in the state could not stand without episcopal government in the church; and, therefore, as the bishops flattered him with preaching up his sovereign prerogative, and inveighing against the Puritans as factious and disloyal, so he protected them in their pomp and pride, and insolent practices against all the godly and sober people of the land. In the first parliament after he came to the crown, the Duke of Buckingham was

impeached concerning the death of King James, and other misdemeanours; but the present king, who had received him into the same degree of favour that he was with the former, would not endure the question of his favourite, and, to deliver him from it, broke up the parliament, which gave too just a suspicion that he favoured the practice; for it is true that the duke's mother, without the consent of the physicians, had made an application to the wrists of the king for his ague, after which he died in his next fit.[1] Some other parliaments there were, but still abruptly broken up when they put forth any endeavour to redress grievances. The protestants abroad were all looked upon as Puritans, and their interests, instead of being protected, sadly betrayed; ships let out to the French king to serve against them; all the flower of the English gentry were lost in an ill-managed expedition to the Isle of Rhé, under pretence of helping them, but so ordered that it proved the loss of Rochelle, the strong fort and best defence of all the protestants in France. Those in Germany were no less neglected in all treaties, although his own sister and her children were so highly concerned. The whole people were sadly grieved at these misgovernments, and, loath to impute them to the king, cast all the odium upon the Duke of Buckingham,

[1] See note, p. 118.

whom at length a discontented person stabbed, believing he did God and his country good service by it. All the kingdom, except the duke's own dependents and kindred, rejoiced in the death of this duke; but they found little cause, for after it the king still persisted in his design of enslaving them, and found other ministers ready to serve his self-willed ambition, such as were Noy, his attorney-general, who set on foot that hateful tax of ship-money, and many more illegal exactions; and ten of the judges, who perverted judgment in the cause of those who refused the illegal imposition; although there were, even in that time, found two honest judges,[1] who durst judge rightly against the king, although he had changed the words usual in their commissions, which were *Quamdiù bene se gesserint*,[2] into another form, *Durante bene placito.* Besides these, and a great rascally company of flatterers and projectors, there were all the corrupted, tottering bishops, and others of the proud, profane clergy of the land, who, by their insolencies, grown odious to the people,[3] bent their strong endeavours to dis-

[1] *i.e.*, Hutton and Croke.

[2] "Quamdiù bene se gesserint," during good behaviour, as long as they act right. "Durante bene placito," during the king's good pleasure.—J. H.

[3] At the opening of the Long Parliament, Nottinghamshire sent up a petition very hostile to episcopacy and the existing form of church government. It was read by the

affect the prince to his honest, godly subjects, and to get a pretence of power from him, to afflict those who would not submit to their insolent dominion. But there were two above all the rest, who led the van of the king's evil counsellors, and these were Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, a fellow of mean extraction[1] and arrogant pride, and the Earl of Strafford, who as much outstripped all the rest in favour as he did in abilities, being a man of deep policy, stern resolution, and ambitious zeal to keep up the glory of his own greatness. In the beginning of this king's reign, this man had been a strong asserter of the liberties of the people, among whom he had gained himself an honourable reputation, and was dreadful to the court party; who thereupon strewed snares in his way, and when they found a breach at his ambition, his soul was that way entered and captivated. He was advanced first to be lord president of the council in the north,

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House of Commons on April 21, 1641, and referred to the committee for the Ministers' Remonstrance. It was printed at the time, in the form of a pamphlet, under the following title: "A Petition presented to Parliament from Nottinghamshire, complaining of grievances under the ecclesiastical government of archbishops, bishops, &c., with a schedule of grievances, subscribed by above fifteen hundred hands of esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen." The list of grievances is extremely minute and exhaustive.

[1] He was the son of a clothier at Reading.

to be a baron, after an earl, then deputy of Ireland; the nearest to a favourite of any man since the death of the Duke of Buckingham, who was raised by his first master, and kept up by the second, upon no account of personal worth or any deserving abilities in him, but only from the violent and private inclinations of the princes. But the Earl of Strafford wanted not any accomplishment that could be desired in the most serviceable minister of state: besides, he having made himself odious to the people by his revolt from their interest to that of the oppressive court, he was now obliged to keep up his own interest with his new party, by all the malicious practices that pride and revenge could inspire him with.[1] But above all these the king had another instigator of his own violent purpose, more powerful than all the rest, and that was the queen, who, grown out of her childhood, began to turn her mind from those vain extravagancies she lived in at first, to that which did less become her, and was more fatal to the kingdom; which is never in any place happy where the hands which were made only for distaffs affect the management of sceptres.—If any one object the fresh example of Queen Elizabeth, let them remember that the felicity of her reign was the effect of her submission to her

[1] Called by Lord Digby the grand apostate of the Commonwealth.—J. H.

masculine and wise counsellors; but wherever male princes are so effeminate as to suffer women of foreign birth and different religions to intermeddle with the affairs of state, it is always found to produce sad desolations; and it hath been observed that a French queen never brought any happiness to England. Some kind of fatality, too, the English imagined to be in her name of Marie, which, it is said, the king rather chose to have her called by than her other, Henrietta, because the land should find a blessing in that name, which had been more unfortunate; but it was not in his power, though a great prince, to control destiny. This lady being by her priests affected with the meritoriousness of advancing her own religion, whose principle it is to subvert all other, applied that way her great wit and parts, and the power her haughty spirit kept over her husband, who was enslaved in his affection only to her, though she had no more passion for him than what served to promote her designs. Those brought her into a very good correspondence with the archbishop and his prelatical crew, both joining in the cruel design of rooting the godly out of the land. The foolish protestants were meditating reconciliations with the church of Rome, who embraced them as far as they would go, carrying them in hand, as if there had been a possibility of bringing such a thing to pass; meanwhile they carried on their design by them, and had so ripened

it, that nothing but the mercy of God prevented the utter subversion of protestantism in the three kingdoms.—But how much soever their designs were framed in the dark, God revealed them to his servants, and most miraculously ordered providences for their preservation. About the year 1639, the Scots, having the English service-book obtruded upon them violently, refused it, and took a national covenant against it, and entered England with a great army, to bring their complaints to the king, which his unfaithful ministers did, as they supposed, much misreport. The king himself levied an army against them, wherein he was assisted by the nobility and gentry, but most of all by the prelates, insomuch that the war got the name of "*bellum episcopale;*" but the commonalty of the nation, being themselves under grievous bondage, were loath to oppose a people that came only to claim their just liberties. When the king was at York, the chief of the Scotch covenanters came, under a pretence of treating with the king, but their principal intent was to disabuse the nobility of England, and to take off their edge against them, by remonstrating upon those grievances and oppressions of the prelatical innovators, which had forced them thus to defend their religion and liberties.[1]

[1] Mrs. Hutchinson seems to have confused the negotiations which took place at Berwick in 1639, with those which

This they did so effectually, that the hearts of the English were much moved towards them, and the king perceiving it, by their mediations, consented to a dissembled peace for that time, and returned home. But the Scots, unsatisfied in the performance of their articles, made preparation for a second return into England; whereupon the king, in his anger and necessity, was forced to have recourse to the long neglected remedy of parliaments, and assembled one at Westminster the 13th of April, 1640, which he suffered to sit but twenty-one days, and broke it up again, apprehending that if he had suffered them to sit a day longer, they would have voted against the war with Scotland, which he was violently bent to prosecute.

The bishops at that time devised as an anti-covenant, in their convocation house, that execrable oath known by the name of the *et cætera*, wherein all ministers were required to swear to uphold the government of the church of England by archbishops, deans, archdeacons, &c. After this the Scots enter England, the king makes a second expedition into the north against them, and sends part of his army to keep the passes upon the river

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took place at Ripon in 1640. Possibly she was thinking of the letter sent by the covenanters to the Earl of Essex while he was at York in 1639. See Gardiner, "Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I.," vol. i. p. 213.

Tyne; but the soldiers being raw and heartless in this war, and the commanders themselves inexperienced, they were vanquished,[1] and the Scots forced their way, after they had been refused to pass quietly by, with their petitions in their hands, and thus possessed themselves of Newcastle and Durham. At that time the Scots had put forth a declaration, wherein they had affirmed their intentions not to lay down arms till the reformed religion was settled in both nations upon sure grounds, and the causers of these present troubles brought to public justice, and that in a parliament. This was so plausible to the English, that the king, finding both the hearts and hands of his people fail him in this occasion, was induced to grant the petition of twelve noble lords,[1] who at that time interposed; and, calling together all his lords at York, agreed upon a parliament at London, to convene on the third of November following. In the meantime, a treaty was condescended to, of sixteen lords of each side, Scotch and English, who agreed upon a cessation between both armies for the present, in order to a peace, to be concluded at London with the parliament, who met, as appointed, in November.

They began with throwing down monopolies, and

[1] At Newburn, August 28, 1640.

[2] Viz., Bedford, Essex, Brooke, Warwick, Saye, Mandeville, Hertford, Rutland, Mulgrave, Exeter, Howard of Escrick, and Bolingbroke.

then impeached the Earl of Strafford of high treason, who, after a solemn trial and hot disputes on both sides, was at length attainted of treason, and the king, against his own mind, to serve his ends, gave him up to death.[1] The archbishop of Canterbury was also made prisoner upon an accusation of high treason, for which he after suffered; Wren, bishop of Norwich, was likewise committed to the Tower; several other prelatical preachers were questioned for popish and treasonable doctrines; the Star Chamber, an unjust and arbitrary court, was taken away, and the High Commission Court; an act was procured for a triennial parliament, and another for the continuation of this, that it should not be broken up without their own consent. There were great necessities for money by reason of the two armies that were then maintained in England, and the people would give the king no money without some ease of grievances, which forced him, against his inclination, to grant those bills, with which, after he had granted, he found he had bound up his own hands, and therefore privately encouraged plots that were in those times

[1] It is only fair to give the king's own account of his motives. "If my own person only were in danger," he told the council, "I would gladly venture it to save Lord Strafford's life; but seeing my wife, children, and all my kingdom are concerned in it, I am forced to give way unto it."

contrived against the parliament. One of them was to have rescued the Earl of Strafford out of prison, and put him at the head of eight thousand Irish, which the king would not consent to disband, when the parliament had some time before moved him to it: then the English army in the north was to have been brought up and engaged against the parliament itself upon a pretence of maintaining the king's prerogative, episcopacy, and some other such things. This plot was managed by Percy, Jermyn, Goring, Wilmot, Ashburnham, Pollard, Suckling, O'Neale, and others, of whom some confessed and impeached their fellows, others fled, others were put in prison. While this parliament was sitting, the king would needs, contrary to their desires, take a journey to Scotland, and passed by the two disbanding armies in his journey, where some report that he secretly attempted to urge the Scotch army against the parliament, which then succeeded not. The houses had rejourned for some time, and left a standing committee of fifty to prepare business.[1] About that time a plot was discovered to them from Scotland, against the lives of some of the greatest peers of that kingdom,[2] the committee,

[1] The names of this committee are given in Rushworth, III. i. 387.

[2] The plot known as "The Incident." It was directed against Argyle and Hamilton. Montrose offered to prove Hamilton guilty of high treason, whilst the Earl of Crawford

fearing the like attempts from the same spring, placed strong guards in divers parts of the city of London. The king's design in going to Scotland was variously conjectured; but this was a certain effect of it, that it retarded all the affairs of the government of England, which the king had put into such disorder that it was not an easy task to reform what was amiss, and redress the real grievances of the people; but yet the parliament showed such a wonderful respect to the king, that they never mentioned him, as he was, the sole author of all those miscarriages, but imputed them to evil counsellors, and gave him all the submissive language that could have been used to a good prince, fixing all the guilt upon his evil counsellors and ministers of state, which flattery I fear they have to answer for: I am sure they have thereby exposed themselves to much scandal.[1] While the king was in Scotland, that cursed rebellion in Ireland broke out, wherein above 200,000 were mas-

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planned the violent seizure, and if necessary, assassination of the two noblemen. See Gardiner, "Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I.," ii. 260.

[1] This is an oversight of Mrs. Hutchinson's, of which she is seldom guilty. Good policy required then, as it does now, that the king should be held incapable of wrong, and the criminality fixed on ministers, who are amenable to the law. If the patriots of that day were the inventors of this maxim, we are highly obliged to them.—J. H.

sacred in two months' space,[1] being surprised, and many of them most inhumanly butchered and tormented; and besides the slain, abundance of poor families stripped and sent naked away out of all their possessions; and, had not the providence of God miraculously prevented the surprise of Dublin Castle the night it should have been seized, there had not been any remnant of the protestant name left in that country. As soon as this sad news came to the parliament, they vigorously set themselves to the work of relieving them; but then the king returned from Scotland, and being sumptuously

[1] Mrs. Hutchinson here seems to take May as her authority, who states that "the persons of above 200,000 men, women, and children were murdered, many of them with exquisite and unheard-of tortures, within the space of one month." May himself relies chiefly on the "faithful relation of Sir John Temple." Clarendon, Rushworth, and Whitelock give equally high figures. Mr. Gardiner estimates the number of persons slain in cold blood at the outbreak of the rebellion at 4000, and thinks that about double that number may have perished from ill-treatment. The depositions have been recently examined and criticised by Mr. Gilbert in the appendix to the eighth report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. Miss Hickson, in the work entitled "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century," has reprinted a selection from the depositions, with a commentary in which she successfully refutes some of Mr. Gilbert's statements about the depositions, and gives reasons for fixing the number of sufferers higher than the estimate of Mr. Gardiner.

welcomed home by the city, took courage thereby against the parliament, and obstructed all its proceedings for the effectual relief of Ireland. Long was he before he could be drawn to proclaim these murderers rebels, and when he did, by special command, there were but forty proclamations printed, and care was taken that they should not be much dispersed; which courses afflicted all the good protestants in England, and confirmed that the rebellion in Ireland received countenance from the king and queen of England. The parliament, beset with so many difficulties, were forced for their own vindication to present the king with a petition and a remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, wherein they spared him as much as truth would bear, and complained only of his ill counsellors and ministers; but this, instead of admonishing, exasperated him, and was answered with another declaration of his; and upon several occasions the parliament being enforced to justify their proceedings publicly, and the king setting forth replies, these open debates were but the prologue to the ensuing tragedy. The city, declaring their good affections to the parliament by a petition, gave the king distrust, and he was observed to entertain an extraordinary guard of cavaliers, who killed and wounded some of the poor unarmed men that passed by his house at Whitehall; and the parliament, conceiving themselves not safe, desired

a guard might be allowed them under the command of the Earl of Essex; but he refused it, with an assurance that he would command such a guard to wait upon them as he would be responsible to Almighty God for, and that the safety of all and every one of them was as dear to him as that of his own person and children. Yet the very next day after this false message, he came to the House of Commons, attended with his extraordinary guard, of about four hundred gentlemen and soldiers, armed with swords and pistols, and there demanded five of their members, whom not finding there (for a great lady at court[1] had before informed one of them of his coming, and the house ordered them to retire), he returned, leaving the house under a high sense of this breach of their privilege. At this time the people began in great numbers to bring petitions to the king and parliament, to beg a more cheerful concurrence between them for the relief of Ireland, and to encourage the parliament in their honourable endeavours for the relief of both kingdoms. The king was offended at this, and retired first to Hampton Court, then went with the queen to Canterbury, whom he sent from thence into Holland with her daughter, lately married to the Prince of Orange, under pretence of conducting her to her own court, but really to manage his business

[1] Lady Carlisle.

abroad, and procure arms to be employed against the parliament, by the sale of the crown jewels, which she carried over with her. After her departure, the king, taking the prince and the Duke of York with him, went to Theobalds, whither the parliament sent a petition to him to return to his parliament and abide near London, and that he would not carry the prince away with him, and that he would grant the militia of the kingdom to be put into such hands as the parliament should recommend, and might confide in; all which he denied, and went immediately to Newmarket, and from thence to York;[1] all this while, by many false pretences, really obstructing the relief of bleeding Ireland, and seducing many of the poor people of England into blood and ruin.

In conducting the state of England, in those days, wherein he, whose actions I am tracing, began to enter into his part in this great tragedy, I have been too long for that I intended, and too short to give a clear understanding of the righteousness of the parliament's cause; which I shall desire you to inform yourselves better of by their own printed papers, and Mr. May's history, which I find to be impartially true, so far as he hath

[1] The queen sailed on February 25th. The king was at Theobalds from February 28th to March 3d. From the 7th to the 14th of the same month the king remained at Newmarket, reaching York on March 19th.—*Iter Carolinum.*

carried it on, saving some little mistakes in his own judgment, and misinformations which some vain people gave of the state, and more indulgence to the king's guilt than can justly be allowed.

To take up my discourse of Mr. Hutchinson where I left it: he was now come to his own house at Owthorpe, about the time when the Irish massacre was acted, and finding humours begin to be very stirring, he applied himself to understand the things then in dispute, and read all the public papers that came forth between the king and parliament, besides many other private treatises, both concerning the present and foregoing times. Hereby he became abundantly informed in his understanding, and convinced in conscience of the righteousness of the parliament's cause in point of civil right; and though he was satisfied of the endeavours to reduce[1] popery and subvert the true protestant religion, which indeed was apparent to every one that impartially considered it, yet he did not think that so clear a ground for the war as the defence of the just English liberties; and although he was clearly swayed by his own judgment and reason to the parliament, he, thinking he had no warrantable call at that time to do anything more, contented himself with praying for peace. At that time Mr. Henry Ireton was in the

[1] Reduce, Latin *reducere*, to bring back, restore, revive. —J. H.

country, and being a kinsman of Mr. Hutchinson's, and one that had received so much advantage to himself and his family in the country by Sir Thomas Hutchinson's countenance and protection, that he seemed a kind of dependent upon him, and being besides a very grave, serious, religious person, there was a great league of kindness and good-will between them.[1] Mr.

[1] As it will be seen in the sequel that Mr. Hutchinson reposed a very great confidence in Ireton, and even allowed to the information he received from him such weight in forming his judgment as he did to that of no one else, it may be well to examine how far the one was deserving, and the other discerning, in this.

The question will be probably decided to general satisfaction upon the testimony of Whitelock and Ludlow, men of very different dispositions, but both of great good sense and knowledge of their subject. Whitelock, in speaking of some reforms proposed in the election and composition of the House of Commons, says, "Ireton was chiefly employed in them, having learned some grounds of law, and having a laborious and working brain and fancy." When he comes to speak of the reforms of the law which Ireton likewise meditated, he says, "he was a man full of invention and industry, who had a little knowledge of the law, which led him into the more errors." But when by his death the jealousy lest he should bring about those reforms which Whitelock, and most of the lawyers, were averse to, had ceased, he says of him, page 516: "This gentleman was a person very active, industrious, and stiff in his ways and purposes; he was of good abilities for council as well as action, made much use of his pen, and was very forward to reform the proccedings in law, wherein his

Ireton being very active in promoting the parliament, and the godly interest in the country, found great opposition from some projectors, and others of corrupt interest that were in the commission of the peace; whereupon, making complaint at the parliament, he procured some of them to be put out of the commission, and others, better affected, to be put in their rooms,[1] of which Mr. Hutchinson was

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having been bred a lawyer was a great help to him. He was stout in the field, and wary and prudent in councils; exceedingly forward as to the business of a commonwealth. Cromwell had a great opinion of him, and no man could prevail so much, nor order him so far, as Ireton could." But Ludlow, who viewed him more constantly and closely in a post of great power and temptation, that of deputy of Ireland, being himself next in command to him, gives the following account of his conduct in one instance, which will render all others superfluous: "The parliament also ordered an act to be brought in for settling two thousand per annum on the lord-deputy Ireton, the news of which being brought over was so unacceptable to him, that he said, they had many just debts, which he desired they would pay before they made any such presents; that he had no need of their land, and would not have it; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation, than so liberal in disposing of the public treasure."—J. H.

[1] See the journals of the House of Commons for February 28, 1642. Ireton presented a petition from Nottinghamshire, complaining of the obstructions caused by Gilbert Boone, serjeant-at-law, to the last petition presented by the county, and the house ordered that Boone should be put out of the commission of the peace.

one; but he then forbore to take his oath, as not willing to launch out rashly into public employments, while such a storm hung threatening overhead. Yet his good affections to godliness and the interest of his country, being a glory that could not be concealed, many of his honest neighbours made applications to him, and endeavoured to gain his conduct, which he at first in modesty and prudence would not too hastily rush into. The parliament had made orders to deface the images in all churches.[1] Within two miles of his house there was a church, where Christ upon the cross, the Virgin, and John, had been fairly set up in a window over the altar, and sundry other superstitious paintings, of the priest's own ordering, were drawn upon the walls. When the order for rasing out those relics of superstition came, the priest only took down the heads of the images, and laid them carefully up in his closet, and would have had the church officers to have certified that the thing was done according to order; whereupon they came to Mr. Hutchinson, and desired him that he would take the pains to come and view their church, which he did, and upon

[1] This probably refers to the declaration of the House of Commons, on September 8th, 1641, on the subject of ecclesiastical innovations. It contained an order that all crucifixes, scandalous pictures of one or more persons of the Trinity, and all images of the Virgin Mary, shall be taken away and abolished.

discourse with the parson, persuaded him to blot out all the superstitious paintings, and break the images in the glass; which he consented to, but being ill-affected, was one of those who began to brand Mr. Hutchinson with the name of puritan.

At that time most of the gentry of the country were disaffected to the parliament; most of the middle sort, the able substantial freeholders, and the other commons, who had not their dependence upon the malignant nobility and gentry, adhered to the parliament. These, when the king was at York, made a petition to him to return to the parliament, which, upon their earnest entreaty, Mr. Hutchinson went, with some others, and presented at York;[1] where, meeting his cousins the Birons, they were extremely troubled to see him there on that account. After his return, Sir John Biron being likewise come to his house at Newstead, Mr. Hutchinson

[1] The petition is printed under the following title: "A Petition presented to the King's Majesty at York, the 1st of April, by the inhabitants of the county of Nottingham, and the county of the town of Nottingham, subscribed by four thousand five hundred and forty hands of knights, esquires, gentlemen, freeholders, and the mayor, aldermen, and other inhabitants of the town of Nottingham." The royalists of the county replied to this petition by a joint letter to the knights serving for the county, urging them to join and comply with the king. It was signed by Sir John Digby and eighty knights and gentlemen. See, on the presentation of the petition, Joseph Widmerpoole's Letter in the Appendix.

went to visit them there, and not finding him, returned to Nottingham, five miles short of his own house. There, going to the mayor to hear some news, he met with such as he expected not, for as soon as he came in, the mayor's wife told him, that the sheriff of the county was come to fetch away the magazine that belonged to the trained bands of the county, which was left in her husband's trust,[1] and that her husband had sent for the country to acquaint them, but she feared it would be gone before they could come in. Whereupon Mr. Hutchinson, taking his brother from his lodgings along with him, presently went to the town-hall, and going up to my Lord Newark,[2] lord lieutenant,

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[1] On the date of this attempt to obtain possession of the powder, and the question of the truth of Mrs. Hutchinson's narrative, see the discussion in the Appendix.

[2] Eldest son of the Earl of Kingston, and brother of two Mr. Pierreponts mentioned in this work; this nobleman was afterwards created Marquis of Dorchester, and will be spoken of under that title in the sequel. In the diary mentioned in the preface, the dialogue between Lord Newark and Mr. Hutchinson is set down at full length, and as it may be an object of curiosity to some of our readers, it is here inserted in smaller type.

Mr. Hutchinson asking who were above, was told that the lord-lieutenant, my Lord Newark, was there, to whom he sent his name and desired to speak with him; and being come up, found in the room, where the powder was weighing, my Lord Newark, the sheriff Sir John Digby, and two

told him, that hearing some dispute concerning the country's powder, he was come to wait on his lordship, to know his desires and intents concerning it. My lord answered him, that the king, having great necessities, desired to borrow it of the country.

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or three captains: Mr. Hutchinson, addressing himself to my lord only, spoke to him:—

H. My lord, hearing that there were some question concerning the county's powder, I am come to kiss your lordship's hands, and to beseech you that I may know what your desires and intents are concerning it?

N. Cousin, the king desires to borrow it of the country, to supply his great necessities.

H. I beseech your lordship, what commission have you to demand this?

N. Upon my honour, I have a commission from his majesty, but it is left behind me; but I will engage my honour it shall be repaid the country.

H. Your lordship's honour as an engagement, would be accepted for more than I am worth; but in such an occasion as this, the greatest man's engagement in the kingdom cannot be a satisfaction to the country.

N. The king's intents are only to borrow it, and if the country will not lend it, he will pay for it.

H. My lord, it is not the value of the powder we endeavour to preserve, but in times of danger, as these are, those things which serve for our defence, are not valuable at any price, should you give as many barrels of gold as you take barrels of powder.

N. Upon my faith and honour, cousin, it shall be restored in ten days.

H. My lord, such is the danger of the times, that for aught we know, we may in less than four days be ruined

Mr. Hutchinson asked my lord what commission he had from his majesty. My lord told him he had one, but he had left it behind. Mr. Hutchinson replied, that my lord's affirmation was satisfactory to him, but the country would not be willing to

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for want of it; and I beseech your lordship to consider how sad a thing it is in these times of war, to leave a poor country and the people in it, naked and open to the injury of every passenger; for if you take our powder, you may as well take our arms, without which we are unable to make use of them, and I hope your lordship will not disarm the country.

N. Why, who should the country fear? I am their lord-lieutenant, and engaged with my life and honour to defend them! What danger are they in?

H. Danger! yes, my lord, great danger; there is a troop of horse now in the town, and it hath often happened so that they have committed great outrages and insolencies, calling divers honest men puritans and rogues, with divers other provoking terms and carriages. I myself was abused by some of them, as I passed on the road. I chanced to meet some of these gentlemen, who, as soon as I was past, inquired my name, and being told it, gave me another, saying among themselves, that I was a puritan and a traitor; as two or three honest men that came behind told me. Besides, your lordship may be far off, and we ruined before you can come to us, being unarmed, and not able to defend ourselves from anybody, and this country being a road through which, under the name of soldiers, rude people daily pass from the north to south, and terrify the country; which if they knew to be naked and unarmed, they would thereby be encouraged to greater insolencies and mischiefs.

N. The king's occasions are such, and so urgent, as I cannot dispense with it for any reasons, but must needs have it

part with their powder in so dangerous a time, without an absolute command. My lord urged that he would restore it in ten days. Mr. Hutchinson replied, they might have use for it sooner, and he hoped my lord would not disarm his country in such

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H. I hope your lordship will not deny that the country hath a right, interest, and property in it.

N. I do not deny it.

H. Then, my lord, I hope his majesty will not command it from them.

N. No, he doth but desire to borrow it.

H. Then, I hope, if he do but desire to borrow it, his majesty hath signified his request to those that have interest in it, under his hand.

N. Upon my honour he hath, but I left it behind me.

H. I beseech your lordship, then, that you would not take it away till you have acquainted the country with it, who only have power to lend it; and if your lordship be pleased to do this, I will engage myself that by to-morrow at twelve of the clock, that part of the country who have interest in the powder shall all wait on your lordship, and give you their resolutions.

N. The king's occasions cannot admit of that delay.

H. I beseech of your lordship, yet be pleased to consider the dangerous consequence of taking it without the country's consent, and be pleased but to stay till they can come in.

N. That time is more than his majesty's necessities can dispense withal.

With that Mr. Hutchinson went down stairs, where by that time a good company of the country were gathered together, to whom Mr. Hutchinson told what my lord had said to him, and they desired him that he would but stand to them, and they would part with every drop of blood out

a time of danger. My lord contemned the mention of danger, and asked what they could fear while he was their lord-lieutenant, and ready to serve them with his life. Mr. Hutchinson told him they had some grounds to apprehend danger by reason of the

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of their bodies before he should have it; and said besides, that they would go up and break my lord's neck and the sheriff's out of the windows; but Mr. Hutchinson desired them to stay below, till he had once more spoken to my lord, and then, taking only one or two more with him, went up and spoke to my lord.

H. My lord, I am again, at the request of the country, that are below, come to your lordship, and do once more humbly beseech you to consider the business you are about, before you proceed further in it, for it may prove of dangerous consequence if you go on.

N. Cousin, I am confident it cannot, for the country will not deny this to the king.

H. It's very probable they will not, if your lordship please to have patience till they can be called in, that they may be acquainted with his majesty's desire.

N. His majesty is very well assured of the willingness and cheerfulness of the greater part of the country to it.

H. My lord, I do not know what assurance his majesty hath of it, but if you please to look out of this window (pointing to the countrymen below in the streets), you will see no inconsiderable number gathered, who, I fear, will not be willing to part with it.

N. Those are but some few factious men, not to be considered.

H. My lord, we have been happy yet, in these unhappy differences, to have had no blood shed, and I am confident your lordship is so noble and tender of your country, that

daily passing of armed men through the country, whereof there was now one troop in the town, and that before they could repair to my lord, they might be destroyed in his absence, and withal urged to him examples of their insolence; but my lord

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it would very much trouble you to have a hand in the first man's blood that should be spent in this quarrel.

N. Cousin, it cannot come to that, fear it not (this was spoken very slightly and contemptuously), his majesty's occasions are urgent, and must be served.

(With that, the country came very fast up, which when the cavalier captains saw, they slunk down.)

H. Why then, my lord, I must plainly tell you, not one here but will lose every drop of blood in his body, before he will part with one corn of it, without your lordship can show either a command or a request for it under his majesty's hand and seal, or that the country be called together to give their free consent to it, for we have all property and interest in it, being members of this county, and it being bought with our money, for the particular defence and safety of the same.

My lord desired to borrow part of it, but that being denied, he turned to Sir John Digby and took him to the window, where, after he had whispered with him a while, Sir John Digby laid down his pen, ink, and paper, with which he had been taking an account of the powder, match, and bullet. The countrymen desired my lord aloud, that he would not take away their powder out of the country; upon which, turning to them, he thus spoke:—

"Gentlemen,—His majesty was assured by some of the cheerfulness of this country's affections to him, which I am very sorry to see them so much failing in, and that the country should come so much short of this town, which

replied to all, the urgency of the king's occasions for it, which were such that he could not dispense with it. It was in vain to argue with him the property the country had in it, being bought with their money, and therefore not to be taken without their

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hath cheerfully lent his majesty one barrel of powder, but it seems he can have none from you; I pray God you do not repent this carriage of yours towards his majesty, which he must be acquainted withal."

A countryman, standing forth, asked his lordship this question, "Whether, if he were to take a journey into a place where probably he might be set upon by thieves and robbers, and having a charge about him, if any friend should ask him to lend his sword, he would part with it and go himself without? My lord, the case is ours; our wives, children, and estates, all depend upon this country's safety; and how can it be safe in these dangerous times, when so many troops and companies pass through and commit outrages and abuses among us, if we have not arms and powder wherewith to defend us?"

My lord made no reply, but bade the men whom he had employed to weigh up the powder desist; and so went down the stairs. Mr. Hutchinson followed him, and as he went, an ancient gentleman, who was with my lord, whose face and name were both unknown to him, came to him and said these words: "Stand to it; I'll warrant you, gentlemen, it is well done." And as they passed through a low room, my lord took Mr. Hutchinson aside, and said, –

N. Cousin, I must acquaint the king with this?

H. My lord, it is very likely you must, being employed upon his majesty's service, give him an account.

N. Nay, cousin (smiling), I mean not so; but I must acquaint him, and I am sorry I must, that you are the head

consent; my lord declared himself positively resolved to take it, whereupon Mr. Hutchinson left him. There were in the room with him Sir John Digby, the high sheriff of the county, who was setting down the weight of the powder and match,

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and ringleader of a faction, whereby you hinder his majesty's service.

H. My lord, I do not conceive how this can be a faction, I speaking only, out of the noble respect and honour I bear your lordship, in private to you, to prevent a mischief, the sense of these men, who I perceived were come to know by what authority, and why, their powder, which is their proper goods, and only means of safety in these times of danger, should be taken from them; and if it were a faction, I am not the head of it; I, accidentally coming to town from Sir John Biron's last night, and neither knowing nor imagining any of this business, was this morning importuned to wait on your lordship, at the town's hall, by many countrymen, who informed me you were taking away their powder out of the country.

N. Cousin, if you can answer it I shall be glad of it; but I will assure you I must let his majesty know.

H. If his majesty must know it, I am very happy I spoke to none but your lordship; who, I am confident, is so noble, that you will neither add nor diminish anything to my prejudice; and then I am confident the justness and reasonableness of what I have said, with my own innocency in speaking it, will bear me out.

N. I, cousin, but your name is up already.

H. It may be so, my lord; and I believe those that set it up had no good wishes to me; and as it rose, so, in the name of God let it fall; for I know my own clearness and innocency in anything that can be objected against me.

and two or three captains and others, that were busy weighing the powder. By the time Mr. Hutchinson came down, a good company of the country was gathered together; whom Mr. Hutchinson acquainted with what had passed between him and my lord, and they told him that if he would but please to stand by them, they would part with all their blood before he should have a corn of it; and said, moreover, they would go up and tumble my lord and the sheriff out of the windows. Mr. Hutchinson, seeing them so resolved, desired them to stay below while he went up yet once again to my lord, which they did; and he told my lord some of the country were come in, at whose request he was again come to beseech his lordship to desist from his design, which if pursued might be of dangerous consequence. My lord replied, it could not be, for the king was very well assured of the cheerful compliance of the greatest part of the country with his service. Mr. Hutchinson told him, whatever assurance his majesty might have, if

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N. Well, cousin, well; I am glad of your good resolution.

And so my lord left him. The gentlemen of the country that were there, upon consideration, what they should do with their powder, determined to return my lord thanks for sparing it, and to lock it up with two locks, whereof the sheriff should have one key, and the mayor another; which accordingly was done; but Mr. Hutchinson came no more to my lord.—J. H.

his lordship pleased to look out, he might see no inconsiderable number below that would not willingly part with it. My lord replied, they were but a few factious men; whereupon Mr. Hutchinson told him, since it was yet the happiness of these unhappy times that no blood had been spilt, he should be sorry the first should be shed upon my lord's occasion, in his own country. My lord scornfully replied, Fear it not, it cannot come to that, the king's occasions are urgent and must be served. Whereupon Mr. Hutchinson, looking out at the countrymen, they came very fast up the stairs; and Mr. Hutchinson told him, however he slighted it, not one was there but would part with every drop of his blood before they would part with it, except he could show a command or request for it under the king's hand, or would stay till the country were called in to give their consent; for it was their property, and all had interest in it, as bought with their money for the particular defence of the country. Then my lord fell to entreaties to borrow part of it, but that being also denied, he took the sheriff aside, and, after a little conference, they put up their books and left the powder; when my lord, turning to the people, said to them, "Gentlemen, his majesty was by some assured of the cheerfulness of this country's affections to him, whereof I am sorry to see so much failing, and that the county should fall so much short of the town, who

have cheerfully lent his majesty one barrel of powder, but it seems he can have none from you; I pray God you do not repent this carriage of yours towards his majesty, which he must be acquainted withal." A bold countryman then stepping forth, by way of reply, asked my lord, whether, if he were to take a journey with a charge into a place where probably he should be set upon by thieves, if any friend should ask to borrow a sword he would part with it: my lord, said he, the case is ours; our lives, wives, children, and estates, all depend upon this country's safety; and how can it be safe in these dangerous times, when so many rude armed people pass daily through it, if we be altogether disarmed? My lord made no reply, but bade the men who were weighing the powder desist, and went down. Mr. Hutchinson followed him down the stairs, when an ancient gentleman, that was sitting with my lord, came and whispering him, commended his and the country's zeal, and bade them stand to it, and they would not be foiled. As they passed through a long room below, my lord told Mr. Hutchinson he was sorry to find him at the head of a faction. Mr. Hutchinson replied, he could not tell how his lordship could call that a faction which arose from the accident of his being at that time in the town; where, hearing what was in hand, and out of respect to his lordship, he only came to prevent mischief and danger, which he saw

likely to ensue. My lord replied, he must inform the king, and told him his name was already up; to which Mr. Hutchinson answered, that he was glad, if the king must receive an information of him, that it must be from so honourable a person; and for his name, as it rose, so in the name of God let it fall; and so took his leave and went home. The rest of the country that were there, determined to give my lord thanks for sparing their ammunition, and locked it up with two locks, whereof the key of the one was entrusted with the mayor of Nottingham, the other with the sheriff of the county, which accordingly was done.[1]

In the mean time, at York, the king had sent the parliament a message, that he intended to go in person to Ireland, and to raise a guard for his own person, about West Chester, which he would arm out of his magazine at Hull. But the parliament, having before intercepted a letter of the Lord Digby's, sent to the queen from Middleburgh in Zealand, wherein he intimated, that, if the king would retire to some safe place, and declare himself, he should be able to wait upon him from

[1] How my lord may have reported this matter to the king signifies little; but he probably remembered as a kindness Mr. Hutchinson's interposition between him and the more rough arguments of the countrymen; for there appears to have existed, on all suitable occasions, an intercourse of friendship during the remainder of their lives.—J. H.

thence, &c. Upon this letter, and other presumptions, they suspected that the chief end of the king's going northward was to seize the magazine at Hull, and arm himself from thence against them; wherefore they sent a petition, for leave to remove that magazine to the Tower of London, and accordingly had sent Sir John Hotham thither to do it. Sir John prevented the Earl of Newcastle, whom the king had sent for the same purpose, to seize the magazine, and kept him out; at which the king was much incensed, and on the 23d of April, 1642, went himself to Hull, attended with some noblemen, gentlemen, and soldiers, and demanded entrance; but the gates were shut; and Hotham, kneeling upon the wall, entreated the king not to command that which, without breach of trust, he could not obey.

In conclusion, the king not getting entrance, proclaimed Hotham a traitor, and sent a complaint of the affront to the parliament. The parliament justified Hotham. Many declarations about it were published on both sides, and many cross-commands; the parliament authorizing Hotham to issue out warrants to constables and other officers, to come in armed to the defence of Hull, the king forbidding it. The king meanwhile in the north, summoned divers of the nobility and gentry to attend him, and made speeches to them to desire a guard for his person, pretending danger from the

parliament. He then began to entertain soldiers, and was much encouraged by the defection of divers lords and many of the Commons' house, who forsook their trust and came to him at York; whereupon he called those who remained only a faction, a pretended parliament, and such names; but they continued still petitioning to him, and the well-affected and godly, in all countries, did the like, that he would return to his parliament. The papists all over England were high partakers with him and promoters of his designs, and all the debauched nobility and gentry, and their dependents, and the lewder rout of people; yet even of these there were some that had English hearts, who came in to the parliament; but finding afterwards that the advance of liberty and righteousness could not consist with riot and ungodliness, they forsook their party, and were content to be the king's slaves rather than divorce themselves from those lusts, which found countenance from both priests and princes on one side, and on the other were preached down by the ministers, and punished by the magistrates.

Towards the end of May,[1] the parliament sent the king word, that if he would not disband his forces, and rely upon the laws and affections of his people for his security, as all good princes before

[1] *i.e.*, May 20th.

him had done, they held themselves bound in duty to God and the people's trust reposed in them, and by the fundamental laws, to employ their utmost care and power for securing the parliament and preserving the kingdom's peace. Whereupon they voted, "That it seems that the king, seduced by wicked counsel, intends a war against the parliament, &c.

"That whensoever the king makes war upon the parliament, it is a breach of the trust reposed in him by the people, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of this government.

"That whosoever shall assist him in such wars are traitors, by the fundamental laws of this kingdom, and have been so adjudged in two acts of parliament, 11 Richard II. and 1 Henry IV.; and that such persons ought to suffer as traitors."

Hereupon nine of the lords, that first went to the king, were summoned to return;[1] who, sending a letter of denial, were, by the whole house of peers, sentenced to be incapable of ever sitting again as members of that house, or of benefit or privilege of parliament, and to suffer imprisonment during pleasure. Then the lord keeper, who had appeared firm to the parliament, and voted with them, for

[1] The Earls of Northampton, Devonshire, Dover, and Monmouth; Lords Howard of Charleton, Rich, Grey of Ruthyn, Coventry, and Capel. The summons was sent on May 30th.

settling the militia by ordinance of parliament, run away to the king, after he had delivered up his seal, the day before, to one the king sent for it.[1] The king, having this, issued out many proclamations, and among the rest, one that no man should obey the parliament's warrants about settling the militia. The parliament, on the other side, made ordinances forbidding all men to raise arms, by warrant from the king, without authority of parliament. And now they began to settle the kingdom's militia, both by land and sea, and made the Earl of Warwick admiral; which place the king had conferred upon Sir John Pennington, in the room of the Earl of Northumberland, and commanded my lord of Warwick to resign; but he chose to obey the parliament, and got the fleet at length wholly into his hands, and took a ship with ammunition coming to the king out of Holland. The parliament now, despairing of the king's return, made an ordinance for money and plate to be brought in for raising arms for the cause,[2] which came in, in great abundance, upon public faith, and likewise horses and arms for the service. The king, who had received money, arms, and ammunition, which the queen had procured in Holland, by pawning the

[1] Lord Keeper Littleton delivered up the seal to Tom Elliot, groom of the privy-chamber to the king, on May 22d, and fled himself on May 23d.

[2] This ordinance was made on June 10th.

crown jewels, sent out commissions of array, to arm the people in all counties; and mocked the parliament, using their own words, wherein they invited men to arm for the defence of the protestant religion, the king's person, dignity, and authority, the laws of the land, the peace of the kingdom, and privilege of parliament; and thus deceived many people, and got contributions of plate, money, and arms in the country. While these things were in transaction, the king made a solemn protestation before the lords, as in the presence of God, declaring that he would not engage them in any war against the parliament, but only for his necessary defence; that his desire was to maintain the protestant religion, the liberties of the subject, and privilege of parliament. But the next day he did some action, so contrary to this protestation, that two of the lords durst not stay with him, but returned to the parliament; and one of them, coming back through Nottinghamshire, acquainted Mr. Hutchinson with the sad sense he had discovering that falsehood in the king.

Now had the king raised an army of three thousand foot and one thousand horse, with which he went to Beverley, in order to besiege Hull.[1] When he was within two hours' march of the place, Sir John Hotham floated the country about it, and

[1] July 27th to July 30th.

Sir John Meldrum, sallying out of the town, with five hundred townsmen, made the king's party retreat to Beverley. But, however, they beleaguered the town, into which the parliament sent a relief of five hundred men, by water, with whom Meldrum made another sally, routed the leaguer-soldiers, killed some, made others prisoners, took the magazine of arms and ammunition, which was in a barn, with their fire balls, and fired the barn. Hereupon the king's council of war broke up the siege, from whence the king went back to York, and about the middle of August came to Nottingham, where he set up his standard royal;[1] and hither his two nephews, Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, came to him, and were put into commands. The king, marching through Nottingham, Derby, and Leicestershire, called together the trained bands, to attend him, disarmed those counties, and marched to Shrewsbury,[2] and there set up a mint, and coined the plate that had been brought in to him. Here a great many men came in to him, with whom, marching into Warwickshire, he there fought his first battle at a village called Keynton;[3] it not being yet agreed who gained the victory that day.

[1] On August 22d.

[2] The king reached Shrewsbury on September 20th.

[3] Commonly called Edge-hill fight. Both king and parliament claimed the victory, but our authoress shows rather more candour than either. The king's main design of

As the king, on his part, made this progress, so the parliament, on theirs, upon the twelfth of July, voted an army to be raised, and the Earl of Essex to be general of it. Divers of the lords, and several members of the House of Commons, took commissions, and raised regiments and companies under his command, who marched with his army of about fourteen thousand horse and foot to his rendezvous at Northampton, whither the parliament sent a petition to him, to be delivered to the king, in a safe and honourable way; the sum of which was, to beseech him to forsake those wicked people with whom he was, and not to mix his danger with theirs, but to return to his parliament, &c. The king, intending to make Worcester a garrison, sent Prince Rupert thither; the Earl of Essex, to prevent him, sent other forces, between whom there was some skirmish,[1] but the prince left the town at their approach. My lord of Essex left a garrison in Northampton, put others into Coventry and Warwick, and went to Worcester. Here he made some stay, till the king marching from Shrewsbury, there was some apprehension of his going up to London; for which cause my lord left part of his artillery behind him, and followed the king's

marching to London was, however, frustrated, and therefore the parliament might be most properly termed gainers.—J. H.

[1] At Powick Bridge, September 22d.

motions, which the king perceiving, took an opportunity, before his artillery and the foot left with it were come up to him,[1] and resolved to give him battle, which was not declined on the other side, but fought with doubtful success, the circumstances whereof may be read at large in the stories of those things. The king's general was slain, and his standard was taken though not kept; but on the other side also there were many brave men slain and prisoners. My lord of Essex marched to Coventry; the king took up his winter quarters at Oxford,[2] from whence Prince Rupert flew about the country with his body of horse, plundered and did many barbarous things; insomuch that London, growing into apprehensions of the king's army, the parliament called back the Earl of Essex to quarter about London;[3] and he being returned thither, the king was advanced as far as Colebrooke, where he was presented with a petition from the parliament for accommodation, to which he answered, with a

[1] "By reason of the suddenness of his march and diligence to follow the king's army, he had left behind two regiments of his foot, one under the command of Colonel Grantham, the other of Colonel Hampden, together with eleven troops of horse, behind but one day's march, and left to bring on the artillery, which was seven pieces of cannon with great store of ammunition."—May, Long Parliament, p. 257.

[2] The king entered Oxford on October 29th.

[3] Essex came to Westminster on November 7th, and received the thanks of the Parliament.

protestation to God, how much he was grieved for his subjects' sufferings, and, in order to peace, was willing to reside near London, to receive their propositions, and to treat with them. As soon as ever the commissioners were gone, the king advanced, with his horse and artillery, towards London,[1] and, taking the advantage of a great mist, fell upon a broken regiment of Colonel Hollis's, quartered at Brentford, and killed many of them, and had destroyed them all, but that Brooke's and Hampden's regiments, by Providence, came seasonably to their rescue; and then so many forces flocked with the general, out of London, that the king was enclosed, and the war had been ended, but that, I know not how, three thousand of the parliament's forces were called away by their procurement who designed the continuance of the war; and so the king had a way of retreat left open, by which he got back to Oxford, and the parliament's general was sent out again with their army; whose proceedings I shall take up again in their due places, so far as is necessary to be remembered, for the story I most particularly intend.

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[1] November 12th. The general rendezvous mentioned a few lines later, took place at Turnham Green on Sunday, November 13th. The troops occupying Kingston, being called away to join the main body, the king's retreat was left free; in the words of May, "a fatal door was opened to let out the enclosed king."

Before the flame of the war broke out in the top of the chimneys, the smoke ascended in every country; the king had sent forth commissions of array, and the parliament had given out commissions for their militia, and sent off their members into all counties to put them in execution. Between these, in many places, there were fierce contests and disputes, almost to blood, even at the first; for in the progress every county had the civil war, more or less, within itself. Some counties were in the beginning so wholly for the parliament, that the king's interest appeared not in them; some so wholly for the king, that the godly, for those generally were the parliament's friends, were forced to forsake their habitations, and seek other shelters: of this sort was Nottinghamshire. All the nobility and gentry, and their dependents, were generally for the king; the chief of whose names I shall sum up here, because I shall often have occasion to mention them. The greatest family was the Earl of Newcastle's,[1] a lord once so much beloved in his country, that when the first expedition was against the Scots, the gentlemen of the country set him

[1] William Cavendish, earl and afterwards marquis (27th October 1643), and Duke (March 16, 1664) of Newcastle. See his Life by his second wife, 1667. The Duchess says, "he raised himself a volunteer troop of horse, which consisted of one hundred and twenty knights and gentlemen of quality."

forth two troops, one all of gentlemen, the other of their men, who waited on him into the north at their own charges. He had, indeed, through his great estate, his liberal hospitality, and constant residence in his country, so endeared them to him, that no man was a greater prince in all that northern quarter; till a foolish ambition of glorious slavery carried him to court, where he ran himself much into debt, to purchase neglects of the king and queen, and scorns of the proud courtiers. Next him was the Earl of Kingston, a man of vast estate, and no less covetous, who divided his sons between both parties, and concealed himself; till at length his fate drew him to declare himself absolutely on the king's side, wherein he behaved himself honourably, and died remarkably.[1] His eldest son[2] was lord-lieutenant of the county, and at that time no nobleman had a greater reputation in the court for learning and generosity than he, who was so high in the king's party, that the parliament was very much incensed against him. Lord Chesterfield, and all his family, were highly of the royal party; so was the Lord Chaworth. The Earl of Clare was very

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[1] Clarendon tells an amusing story of the Earl of Kingston's parsimony.—Rebellion, vi. 59.

[2] Lord Newark, before spoken of. In Collins's Peerage, under the title of Duke of Kingston, there are cited singular proofs of this nobleman's learning.—J. H.

often of both parties, and, I think, never advantaged either. All the popish gentry were wholly for the king, whereof one Mr. Golding, next neighbour to Mr. Hutchinson, had been a private collector of the catholics' contributions to the Irish Rebellion, and for that was, by the queen's procurement, made a knight and baronet.[1] Sir John Biron, afterwards Lord Biron, and all his brothers, bred up in arms, and valiant men in their own persons, were all passionately the king's.[2] Sir John Savill, a man of vast estate, was the like: so were Sir Gervase Eyre, Sir John Digby, Sir Matthew Palmer, Sir

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[1] Mr. Golding should rather be called one of the collectors for raising the contributions of the Roman Catholics for carrying on the late war against the Scots. See Rushworth, III. ii. 160–3. Mr. Golding is mentioned by Rushworth as one of the collectors for Leicestershire.

[2] Lloyd, in his "Memoirs of Excellent Personages," p. 487, gives a brief account of Sir John Biron. He was one of the best soldiers in the king's service, but his skill was sullied by cruelty. In the winter of 1643 he was appointed Field Marshal of Cheshire, Shropshire, and North Wales, and held out in Chester till February 1646. In one of his letters he thus relates the capture of a church occupied by the parliamentary troops, "I put them all to the sword, which I find the best way to proceed with these kind of people, for mercy to them is cruelty."

There are many of his letters in the Clarendon correspondence, and in Carte's collection of original letters and papers. He was succeeded in the title by his brother Richard in 1652.

Thomas Williamson, Sir Roger Cowper, Sir W. Hickman, Sir Hugh Cartwright, Sir T. Willoughby, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Thomas Blackwell, Markham, Perkins, Tevery, Pearce, Palme, Wood, Sanderson, Moore, Mellish, Butler, with divers others.[1] Of the parliament men, Mr. Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington,[2] and Sir Gervase Clifton, forsook the parliament, went to the king, and executed his commission of array. Mr. William Stanhope left the parliament, and came home disaffected to them; whose eldest son was afterwards slain in the king's service. Mr. William Pierrepont,[3] second son of

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[1] These names, and those of others not here mentioned, are to be found annexed to the letter to the knights of the shire, in reply to the petition of the county, which has been before mentioned.

[2] Robert Sutton, born 1594, died 1668, created Lord Lexington in 1645. He was one of the leaders in the defence of Newark, and after its surrender paid £5000 to compound for his estates. Major-General Whalley writes of him in 1655.—"He is in this county termed the devil of Newark; he exercised more cruelty, as I am informed, than any, nay, than all that garrison against the parliament soldiers, when they fell into his power.—Thurloe Papers, iv. 364.

[3] From this gentleman the present Earl Manvers is descended. Mr. Sanford in his "Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion" (p. 400) thus describes his position and character:—"William Pierrepont, if any value is to be attached to the general testimony of his contemporaries of all parties, was a man of very superior mind and remarkable soundness of judgment. In his family he was distinguished

the Earl of Kingston, was of the parliament, though he served not for his own country, to which notwithstanding he was an ornament, being one of the wisest counsellors and most excellent speakers in the house, and by him was that bill promoted and carried on which passed for the continuation of this parliament. He had a younger brother living at Nottingham, who coldly owned the parliament. Sir Thomas Hutchinson continued with the parliament, was firm to their cause, but infinitely desirous that the difference might rather have been composed by

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by the soubriquet of 'Wise William;' and the title appears to have had a positive as well as a relative signification. Yet, personally, we know next to nothing of him; and his influence on public events, whatever its extent, seems to have been a still more silent one than that of Hampden. He was always greatly respected and consulted on great crises by men of the most opposite tendencies; but his opinion seems to have been as often rejected as followed, and his own political conduct is marked by no little indecision and some inconsistency. We may, perhaps, conclude that the aid of his calm and dispassionate judgment was sought by many of the leaders of the Parliament, rather as a means of opening up any subject thoroughly to their own minds, and as a pledge of moderation to others, than with any purpose of being entirely guided by his judgment, or of carrying practically into effect the exact line of policy he recommended. In his religious opinions he belonged to the party of tolerance, and ranked himself with Vane and Cromwell; on civil questions he frequently took a less decided and practical view." Pierrepont was member for Great Wenlock.

accommodation, than ended by conquest; and therefore did not improve his interest to engage the country in the quarrel, which, if he could have prevented, he would not have had come to a war. He was, however, clearly on the parliament's side, and never discouraged his two sons, who thought this prudential tardiness in their father was the declension of that vigour which they derived from him, and which better became their youth. It is true, they were the foremost in point of time and in degree, except a piece of a nobleman that was after drawn in, who owned the parliament's interest in their country. Mr. Henry Ireton, their cousin, was older than they, and having had an education in the strictest way of godliness, and being a very grave and solid person, a man of good learning, great understanding, and other abilities, to which was joined a willing and zealous heart in the cause and his country, he was the chief promoter of the parliament's interest in the county,[1] but finding it generally disaffected, all he could do, when the king approached it, was to gather a troop

[1] On June 30th, 1642, Henry Ireton was nominated captain of the horse troop, and George White captain of the foot company of the forces of the town of Nottingham, and on the first of July, on the petition of the Mayor of Nottingham, and of Ireton himself, leave was given to the latter to carry down arms for the service of the town.—Journals of the House of Commons.

of those godly people which the cavaliers drove out, and with them to go into the army of my lord of Essex; which he, being a single person, might the better do. Mr. Hutchinson was not willing so soon to quit his house, to which he was so lately come, if he could have been suffered to live quietly in it; but his affections to the parliament being taken notice of, he became an object of envy to the other party.

Sir Thomas Hutchinson, a little before the standard was set up, had come to Nottingham, where his house was, to see his children and refresh himself; when, hearing of the king's intentions to come to the town, he, some days before his coming, went over to Owthorpe, his son's house, to remain there till he could fit himself to return to the parliament. One day, as Mr. Hutchinson was at dinner, the mayor of Nottingham sent him word that the high-sheriff had broken open the lock of the country's ammunition, which was left in his trust, and was about to take it away. Mr. Hutchinson immediately went in all haste to prevent it, but before he came to the town it was gone, and some of the king's soldiers were already come to town, and were plundering all the honest men of their arms. As one of them had taken a musket, seeing Mr. Hutchinson go by, he said he wished it loaded for his sake, and hoped the day would shortly come when all such Round-

heads would be fair marks for them. This name of Roundhead coming so opportunely in, I shall make a little digression to tell how it came up. When Puritanism grew into a faction, the zealots distinguished themselves, both men and women, by several affectations of habit, looks, and words, which, had it been a real forsaking of vanity, and an embracing of sobriety in all those things, would have been most commendable in them; but their quick forsaking of those things, when they were where they would be, showed that they either never took them up for conscience, or were corrupted by their prosperity to take up those vain things they durst not practice under persecution. Among other affected habits, few of the Puritans, what degree soever they were of, wore their hair long enough to cover their ears, and the ministers and many others cut it close round their heads, with so many little peaks, as was something ridiculous to behold; whereupon Cleaveland, in his Hue and Cry after them, begins,

"With hair in Characters and lugs in Text," &c.

From this custom of wearing their hair, that name of Roundhead became the scornful term given to the whole parliament party, whose army indeed marched out so, but as if they had been only sent out till their hair was grown. Two or three years after, any stranger that had seen them, would have

inquired the reason of that name.[1] It was very ill applied to Mr. Hutchinson, who, having naturally a very fine thickset head of hair, kept it clean and handsome, so that it was a great ornament to him; although the godly of those days, when he embraced their party, would not allow him to be religious because his hair was not in their cut, nor his words in their phrase, nor such little formalities altogether fitted to their humour; who were, many of them, so weak as to esteem rather for such insignificant circumstances, than for solid wisdom, piety, and courage, which brought real aid and honour to their party. But as Mr. Hutchinson chose not them, but the God they served, and the truth and righteousness they defended, so did not their weaknesses, censures, ingratitude, or discouraging behaviour, with which he was abundantly exercised all his life, make him forsake them in any thing wherein they adhered to just and honourable principles or practices; but when they apostatised from these, none cast them off with greater indignation, how shining soever the profession was that gilt, not a temple of living grace, but a tomb, which only held the carcase of religion. Instead of

[1] The portraits of the parliamentary leaders in Vicars' "England's Worthies" (1647), and Ricraft's "Survey of England's Champions" (1647), supply an excellent illustration of this statement. Not one man is represented with short hair.

digressing, I shall ramble into an inextricable wilderness, if I pursue this sad remembrance: to return therefore to his actions at that time.

When he found the powder gone, and saw the soldiers taking up quarters in the town, and heard their threats and revilings, he went to his father's house in the town, where he had not been long before an uncivil fellow stepped into the house, with a carabine in his hand. Mr. Hutchinson asked what he would have; the man replied, he came to take possession of the house; Mr. Hutchinson told him, he had the possession of it, and would know on what right it was demanded from him; the man said, he came to quarter the general there; Mr. Hutchinson told him, except his father and mother, and their children, were turned out of doors, there was no room. The quarter-master, upon this, growing insolent, Mr. Hutchinson thrust him out of the house, and shut the doors upon him. Immediately my lord of Lindsey came himself, in a great chafe, and asked who it was that denied him quarter? Mr. Hutchinson told him, he that came to take it up for him deserved the usage he had, for his uncivil demeanour; and those who had quartered his lordship there had much abused him, the house being no ways fit to receive a person of his quality, which, if he pleased to take a view of it, he would soon perceive. Whereupon my lord, having seen the rooms, was very angry they had made no better

provision for him, and would not have lain in the house, but they told him the town was so full that it was impossible to get him room any where else. Hereupon he told Mr. Hutchinson, if they would only allow him one room, he would have no more; and when he came upon terms of civility, Mr. Hutchinson was as civil to him, and my lord only employed one room, staying there with all civility to those that were in the house. As soon as my lord was gone, Mr. Hutchinson was informed by a friend, that the man he had turned out of doors was the quarter-master general, who, upon his complaint, had procured a warrant to seize his person; whereupon Mr. Hutchinson, with his brother, went immediately home to his own house at Owthorpe. About four or five days after, a troop of cavaliers, under the command of Sir Lewis Dives, came to Stanton, near Owthorpe, and searched Mr. Needham's house, who was a noted Puritan in those days, and a colonel in the parliament's service, and governor of Leicester: they found not him, for he hid himself in the gorse, and so escaped them. His house being lightly plundered, they went to Hickling, and plundered another Puritan house there, and were coming to Owthorpe, of which Mr. Hutchinson having notice, went away to Leicestershire; but they, though they had orders to seize Mr. Hutchinson, came not at that time because the night grew on. But some days after

he was gone, another company came and searched for him and for arms and plate, of which finding none, they took nothing else.

Two days after Mr. Hutchinson was in Leicestershire, he sent for his wife, who was then big with child, to come thither to him; where she had not been a day, but a letter was brought him from Nottingham, to give him notice that there was a warrant sent to the sheriff of Leicestershire to seize his person. Upon this he determined to go the next day into Northamptonshire, but at five of the clock that evening, the sound of their trumpets told him a troop was coming into the town. He stayed not to see them, but went out at the other end as they came in; who, by a good providence for his wife (somewhat afflicted to be so left alone in a strange place), proved to be commanded by her own brother, Sir Allen Apsley, who quartered in the next house to that where she was, till about two or three days before all the king's horse that were thereabouts marched away, being commanded upon some service to go before the rest.

Mr. Hutchinson, in the mean time, was carried by a servant that waited on him, to the house of a substantial honest yeoman, who was bailiff to the lord of the town[1] of Kelmarsh, in Northamptonshire.

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[1] It is customary, in Nottinghamshire, to call every village of any size a town.—J. H.

This man and his wife, being godly, gave Mr. Hutchinson very kind entertainment, and prevailed upon him to be acquainted with their master, who had just then made plate and horses ready to go in to the king, that had now set up his standard at Nottingham; but Mr. Hutchinson diverted him, and persuaded him and another gentleman of quality, to carry in those aids they had provided for the king, to my lord general Essex, who was then at Northampton, where Mr. Hutchinson visited him, and would gladly at that time have engaged with him, but that he did not then find a clear call from the Lord; and therefore, intelligence being brought of the king's remove, he was now returning to his wife, when unawares he came into a town, where one of Prince Rupert's troops was; which he narrowly escaped, and returning to his former honest host, sent a letter to his wife, to acquaint her what hazard he was in by attempting to come to her, but that as soon as the horse was marched away, he would be with her. This letter was intercepted at Prince Rupert's quarters, and opened and sent her. There was with Prince Rupert, at that time, one Captain Welch, who having used to come to Captain Apsley, and seen Mrs. Hutchinson with him, made a pretence of civility to visit her that day that all the prince's horse marched away. They marched by the door of the house where she was, and all the household having gone out to see them, had left her alone in

the house, with Mr. George Hutchinson, who was in her chamber when Captain Welch came in, and she went down into the parlour to receive him. He, taking occasion to tell her of her husband's letter, by way of compliment, said it was a pity she should have a husband so unworthy of her, as to enter into any faction which should make him not dare to be seen with her; whereat she being piqued, and thinking they were all marched away, told him he was mistaken, she had not a husband that would at any time hide himself from him, or that durst not show his face where any honest man durst appear; and to confirm you, said she, he shall now come to you. With that she called down her brother, who, upon a private hint, owned the name of husband, which she gave him, and received a compliment from Welch, that in any other place he had been obliged to make him a prisoner, but here he was in sanctuary; and so, after some little discourse, went away. When the gentleman of the house and the rest of the family, that had been seeing the march, were returned, and while they sat laughing together, at those that went to see the prince, telling how some of the neighbouring ladies were gone along with him, and Mrs. Hutchinson telling how she had abused the captain, with Mr. Hutchinson instead of her husband, the captain came back, bringing another gentleman with him; and he told Mr. Hutchinson, that his horse having

lost a shoe, he must be his prisoner till the smith released him. But they had not sat long, ere a boy came in with two pistols, and whispered the captain, who desired Mr. Hutchinson and the gentleman of the house to walk into the next room, seized Mr. George, in the name of Mr. John Hutchinson. It booted not for them both to endeavour to undeceive him, by telling him Mr. John was still at Northampton, for he would not, at least would seem not, to believe them, and carried him away, to be revenged of Mrs. Hutchinson, at whom he was vexed for having deluded him. So, full of wicked joy, to have found an innocent gentleman, whom he knew the bloodhounds were after, he went and informed the prince, and made it of such moment, as if they had taken a much more considerable person. The prince had sent back a troop of dragoons to guard him to them, which troop had beset the house and town, before Welch came in to them the second time; and, notwithstanding all informations of his error, he carried away Mr. Hutchinson, and put his sister into affright and distemper with it; which, when the women about her saw, they railed at him for his treachery and baseness, but to no purpose. As soon as he overtook the body of horse with his prisoner, there was a shout from one end to the other of the soldiers. Mr. Hutchinson, being brought to the prince, told him he was the younger brother, and not the person

he sent for, which three or four of the Birons, his cousin-germans, acknowledged to be so; yet Welch outswore them all that it was Mr. John Hutchinson. The Lord Viscount Grandison, a cousin-german of Mrs. Hutchinson's, was then in the king's army, to whom she immediately despatched a messenger, to entreat him to oblige her by the procurement of her brother's liberty, who, upon her imprudence, had been brought into that trouble. My lord sent her word, that, for the present, he could not obtain it, but he would endeavour it afterwards; and in the meantime he gave her notice that it was not safe for her husband to return, there being forty men left to lie close in the country, and watch his coming to her. So Mr. George Hutchinson was carried to Derby, and there, with some difficulty, his liberty was obtained by the interposition of my Lord Grandison and the Birons. They would have had him give them an engagement, that he would not take arms with the parliament; but he refused, telling them that he lived peaceably at home, and should make no engagement to do anything but what his conscience led him to; that if they pleased, they might detain him, but it would be no advantage to them, nor loss to the other side; upon which considerations they were persuaded to let him go. Immediately after his release, he went to London to his father, where his elder brother was before him; for as soon as he understood from his wife

what his brother suffered in his name, he took post to London to procure his release; and there they both stayed till they received assurance that the king's forces were quite drawn out of the country, and then they together returned to Leicestershire, where Mrs. Hutchinson, within a few days after her brother was taken, was brought to bed of her eldest daughter; which, by reason of the mother's and the nurse's griefs and frights, in those troublesome times, was so weak a child that it lived not four years, dying afterwards in Nottingham Castle. When Mr. Hutchinson came to his wife, he carried her and her children, and his brother, back again to his house, about the time that the battle was fought at Edge Hill. After this the two brothers, going to Nottingham, met there most of the godly people, who had been driven away by the rudeness of the king's army, and plundered upon the account of godliness, who were now returned to their families, and desirous to live in peace with them; but having, by experience, found they could not do so, unless the parliament interest were maintained, they were consulting how to raise some recruits for the Earl of Essex, to assist in which, Mr. Hutchinson had provided his plate and horses ready to send in.[1]

[1] The narrative contained in the manuscript note-book, preserved in the British museum, commences at this point.

About this time Sir John Gell,[1] a Derbyshire gentleman, who had been sheriff of the county, at that time when the illegal tax of ship-money was exacted, and was so violent in the prosecution of it, that he starved Sir John Stanhope's cattle in the pound, and would not suffer any one to relieve them there, because that worthy gentleman stood out against that unjust payment; and he had by many aggravating circumstances, not only concerning his persecution of Sir John Stanhope, but others, so highly misdemeaned himself that he looked for punishment from the parliament; to prevent it, he very early put himself into their service, and after the king was gone out of these countries, he prevented the cavalier gentry from seizing the town of Derby, and fortified it, and raised a regiment of foot. These were good, stout, fighting men, but the most licentious, ungovernable wretches, that belonged to the parliament. He himself, no man knows for what reason he chose that side; for he had not understanding enough to judge the equity of the cause, nor piety or holiness; being a foul adulterer all the time he served the parliament, and so unjust, that without any remorse, he suffered his men indifferently to plunder both honest men and cavaliers; so revengeful, that he pursued his malice to Sir John Stanhope, upon the foremen-

[1] See the note in the Appendix, on the character of Sir John Gell, and the truth of the charges here brought against him.

tioned account, with such barbarism after his death, that he, pretending to search for arms and plate, came into the church and defaced his monument that cost six hundred pounds, breaking off the nose and other parts of it. He dug up a garden of flowers, the only delight of his widow, upon the same pretence; and then wooed that widow,[1] who was by all the world believed to be the most prudent and affectionate of womankind, till, being deluded by his hypocrisies, she consented to marry him, and found that was the utmost point to which he could carry his revenge, his future carriage making it apparent he sought her for nothing else but to destroy the glory of her husband and his house. This man kept the diurnal-makers in pension, so that whatever was done in the neighbouring counties, against the enemy, was attributed to him; and thus he hath indirectly purchased himself a name in story, which he never merited.[2] He was a very bad man, to sum up all in that word, yet an instrument of service to the parliament in those parts. I thought it necessary to insert this little account of him here, because there will be often

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[1] Mary, daughter of Sir John Radclyffe of Ordsal.—Collins's "Peerage."

[2] "There are more puppets that move by the wire of a Diurnal, as Brereton and Gell, two of Mars his petty-toes, such snivelling cowards, that it is a favour to call them so."—Cleveland, "Character of a London Diurnal."

occasion to mention him in my following discourse; and because, although there never was any personal acquaintance between him and Mr. Hutchinson, yet that natural antipathy which is between good and evil, rendered him a very bad neighbour to Mr. Hutchinson's garrison, and one that, under the name of a friend and assistant, spoiled our country, as much as our enemies. He indeed gave his men leave to commit all insolences without any restraint; whereas Mr. Hutchinson took up arms to defend the country as much as was possible from being a prey to rude soldiers, and did oftentimes preserve it both from his and other rude troops, which stirred up in him envy, hate, and ill-will against his neighbour. He was not wise in ordering the scouts and spies he kept out, and so had the worst intelligence in the world. Mr. Hutchinson, on the other side, employed ingenuous persons, and was better informed of the true state of things, so oftentimes he communicated those informations to the chief commanders, which proved the falsehood of his; and that was another cause of envy. Some that knew him well, said he was not valiant, though his men once held him up, among a stand of pikes, while they obtained a glorious victory, when the Earl of Northampton was slain; certain it is he was never by his good will in a fight, but either by chance or necessity; and that which made his courage the more questioned was, the care he took,

and the expense he was at, to get it weekly mentioned in the journals, so that when they had nothing else to renown him for, they once put in that the troops of that valiant commander, Sir John Gell, took a dragoon with a plush doublet. Mr. Hutchinson, on the other side, that did well for virtue's sake, and not for the vainglory of it, never would give anything to buy the flatteries of those scribblers; and when one of them had once, while he was in town, made mention of something done at Nottingham, with falsehood, and given Gell the glory of an action wherein he was not concerned, Mr. Hutchinson rebuked him for it, whereupon the man begged his pardon, and told him he would write as much for him the next week; but Mr. Hutchinson told him he scorned his mercenary pen, warning him not to dare to lie in any of his concernments, whereupon the fellow was awed, and he had no more abuse of that kind.

But to turn out of this digression into another, not altogether impertinent to the story which I would carry on. In Nottinghamshire, upon the edge of Derbyshire, there dwelt a man, who was of mean birth and low fortunes, yet had kept company with the underling gentry of his neighbourhood. This man had the most factious, ambitious, vainglorious, envious, and malicious nature that is imaginable; but he was the greatest dissembler, flatterer, traitor, and hypocrite that ever was, and herein had a kind

of wicked policy; knowing himself to be inferior to all gentlemen, he put on a vizard of godliness and humility, and courted the common people with all the plausibility and flattery that could be practised. All this while he was addicted to many lusts, especially to that of women, but practised them so secretly, that they were not vulgarly taken notice of, though God, to shame him, gave him up to marry a wench out of one of the ale-houses he frequented; but to keep up a fame of godliness, he gave large contributions to puritan preachers, who had the art to stop the people's mouths from speaking ill of their benefactors. By a thousand arts this fellow became popular, and so insinuated himself into all the gentlemen that owned the parliament's party, that till he was discovered some years after, they believed him a most true-hearted, faithful, vigilant, active man for the godly interest; but he could never climb higher than a presbyterian persecutor, and in the end, fell quite off to a declared cavalier. In Sir George Booth's business, thinking he could sway the scales of a country, he raised a troop, brought them into Derby, and published a declaration of his own for the king; then ran away to Nottingham, and lost all his troop in the route there, and hid himself till the king[1]

[1] By the king is here meant Charles the Second; the Rebellion under Sir George Booth having taken place in 1659, after the death of Cromwell.—J. H.

came in, when he was rewarded for his revolt with an office, which he enjoyed not many months, his wife and he, and some of his children, dying altogether in a few days of a fever little less than a plague. This man, called Charles White, at the beginning of the civil war, got a troop of dragoons, who armed and mounted themselves out of devotion to the parliament's cause, and being of his neighbourhood, marched forth in his conduct, he having procured a commission to be their captain; but they, having stocks and families, were not willing to march as far as the army, but joined themselves to those who were already in arms at Derby.[1]

After the battle at Edge-hill, Sir John Digby, the high sheriff of Nottinghamshire, returned from the king, and had a design of securing the county against the parliament; whereupon he sent out summons to all the gentlemen resident in the country to meet him at Newark. Mr. Hutchinson was at the house of Mr. Francis Pierrepont, the Earl of Kingston's third son, when the letter was delivered to him, and another of the same to Mr.

[1] "On October 31, 1642, Sir John Gell marched to Derby, and there began to give out commissions. Some five days after Captain White came to him out of Nottinghamshire, with a company of dragoons, consisting of about twenty-seven, but before he departed he made them up one hundred and forty, all well armed, under the command of the said Sir John Gell."—Gell's True Relation, Glover's Derbyshire, vol. i., Appendix, p. 52.

Pierrepont; and while they were reading them, and considering what might be the meaning of this summons, an honest man, of the sheriff's neighbourhood, came and gave them notice, that the sheriff had some design in agitation; for he had assembled and armed about fourscore of his neighbours, to go out with him to Newark, and, as they heard, from thence to Southwell, and from thence to Nottingham, through which town many armed men marched day and night, to their great terror. Mr. Hutchinson, upon this intimation, went home, and, instead of going to meet the sheriff, sent an excuse by an intelligent person, well acquainted with all the country, who had orders to find out their design; which he did so well, that he assured Mr. Hutchinson if he and some others had gone in, they would have been made prisoners; for the sheriff came into Newark with a troop of eighty men, with whom he was gone to Southwell, and was to go the next day to Nottingham, to secure those places for the king. Mr. Hutchinson immediately went with his brother and acquainted them at Nottingham with his intelligence, which they had likewise received from other hands. Although the town was generally more malignant than well affected, yet they cared not much to have cavalier soldiers quarter with them, and therefore agreed to defend themselves against any force which should come against them; and being called hastily together, as the exigence required, about seven

hundred listed themselves, and chose Mr. George Hutchinson for their captain, who having lived among them, was very much loved and esteemed by them. The sheriff hearing this, came not to Nottingham, but those who were now there thus became engaged to prosecute the defence of themselves, the town, and country, as far as they could. They were but few, and those not very considerable, and some of them not very hearty; but it pleased God here, as in other places, to carry on his work by weak and unworthy instruments. There were seven aldermen in the town, and of these only Alderman James, then mayor, owned the parliament. He was a very honest, bold man, but had no more than a burgher's discretion; he was yet very well assisted by his wife, a woman of great zeal and courage, and with more understanding than women of her rank usually have. All the devout people of the town were very vigorous and ready to offer their lives and families, but there was not half the half of the town that consisted of these; the ordinary civil sort of people coldly adhered to the better, but all the debauched, and such as had lived upon the bishops' persecuting courts, and had been the lackeys of projectors and monopolizers and the like, they were all bitterly malignant; yet God awed them, that they could not at that time hinder his people, whom he overruled some of their greatest enemies to assist, such

as were Chadwick and Plumptre, who, at the first, put themselves most forward in the business. Plumptre was a doctor of physic, an inhabitant of Nottingham, who had learning, natural parts, and understanding enough to discern between natural civil righteousness and injustice; but he was a horrible atheist, and had such an intolerable pride that he brooked no superiors, and having some wit, took the boldness to exercise it in the abuse of all the gentlemen wherever he came.[1] Sir Thomas Hutchinson first brought him into credit and practice in the country, it having pleased God to make him instrumental in the cure of Mr. George Hutchinson, who had in vain tried the skill of the best doctors in England against an epileptic disease, under which he laboured some years. Upon this occasion, Sir Thomas and both his sons gave him much respect, and this cure gave him reputa-

[1] It said of him, in Thoroton's History of Notts, "He was a person eminent in his profession, of great note for wit and learning, as he had formerly been for poetry, when he printed a book of epigrams:" a species of composition which the more it pleases the reader, the less it renders the author beloved. This inclination to sport with the feelings of others was not at all likely to recommend him to Mr. Hutchinson, nor make him a good associate in weighty and serious business.—J. H.

Dr. Plumptre died on June 23d, 1660. An account of him is given in Bailey's "Annals of Nottinghamshire," p. 869. See also Wood's "Fasti" under the year 1656.

tion, and introduced him into practice in all the gentlemen's houses in the country; which he soon lost again by his most abusive tongue and other ill carriages, and was even got out of favour with Sir Thomas Hutchinson himself, for some abusive scoffs given out against his lady. But Mr. Hutchinson and his brother, in pity to him, and in remembrance of what God had done through him, still owned him, and protected him a little against the bitter zealots, though it was impossible for his darkness and their light long to continue mixed. This man had seen enough to approve the parliament's cause, in point of civil right, and pride enough to desire to break the bonds of slavery, whereby the king endeavoured to chain up a free people; and upon these scores, appearing high for the parliament's interest, he was admitted into the consultations of those who were then putting the country into a posture of defence.[1] Chadwick was

[1] Doubtless many adhered to the parliament's side merely on a civil and political account, and these would naturally unite with the independents, as having no inclination to support the pretensions of the presbyterians. It is said by Clarendon, that many deists took part with the independents; and it is not improbable that Dr. Plumptre might have an inclination at least to scepticism, as sarcasm was his talent, and for this he was termed an atheist by Mrs. Hutchinson, who was a rigorist.

After the deaths of Colonel Hutchinson and Dr. Plumptre, there began a great friendship between their families, which

a fellow of a most pragmatical temper, and, to say truth, had strangely wrought himself into a station unfit for him. He was at first a boy that scraped trenches in the house of one of the poorest justices in the county, but yet such a one as had a great deal of formality and understanding of the statute law, from whom this boy picked such ends of law, that he became first the justice's, then a lawyer's clerk; then, I know not how, got to be a parcel-judge in Ireland,[1] and came over to his own

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lasted many generations. Charles, the half-brother of Colonel Hutchinson, and his successor in his estate at Owthorpe and in the borough of Nottingham, was guardian of Dr. Plumptre's son, and is represented by Thoroton to have executed his trust with great fidelity.

The Editor has in his possession several pieces, in verse and prose, written by the late Dr. Charles Hutchinson, in favour of the last Mr. Plumptre, who represented the town of Nottingham, and in vindication of him against a party headed by Langford Collin, Esq., a lineal descendant of Colonel Hutchinson's master gunner, who will be spoken of hereafter: they are all in a jocose or satirical style; but one of them, a short advertisement, which too well described Mr. Collin, was deemed libellous, and cost Dr. Hutchinson £500, which was well repaid by Mr. Plumptre's obtaining for him a king's living of £350 per annum. At this time Mr. Plumptre and Mr. Hutchinson's families were of the Whig or Hanover party, Mr. Collin of the Tory or Jacobite. —J. H.

[1] There is a mention of Chadwick in Strafford's Correspondence. Laud was induced to recommend him to

country swelled with the reputation of it, and set on foot a base, obsolete, arbitrary court there, which the Conqueror of old had given to one Peverel, his bastard, which this man entitling my lord Goring unto, executed the office under him, to the great abuse of the country.[1] At the beginning of the parliament they would have prosecuted him for it,

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Strafford for a second baron's place in the Exchequer. Strafford replied, "Mr. Chadwick is not held here so fit as yet for the bench: nay the chief baron hath a very mean opinion of his judgment in his own profession."—Strafford, Correspondence, i. 268–299.

[1] On the history of the court of the Honour of Peveril, see Briscoe's "Old Nottinghamshire," first series, p. 91. Nottingham had been exempted from this court by the charter of Edward II. in 1321. It was purchased from the Eland family by a branch of the Hutchinson family which settled at Basford, and by this "unworthy branch," as Mrs. Hutchinson calls it, it was allowed to fall into disuse. The king revived the court in 1638, for the benefit of Lord Goring. At the opening of the Long Parliament, its jurisdiction again came to a stop. In 1658 Whalley attempted to restore it, but on a letter from the corporation of Nottingham the design was given up. On August 1, 1659, there was read in the House of Commons, "the humble petition of divers of the inhabitants of the counties of Nottingham and Derby, against setting up a Court of Record and Court of Equity in the county of Nottingham, by the steward of the Honour of Peveril." It was referred to a committee, of which Colonel Hutchinson was one. A petition against Colonel Chadwick had also been presented on February 13, 1657 (Journals of the House of Commons).

but my lord Goring begged of Sir Thomas Hutchinson to spare him, and promised to lay it down for ever; so from the beginning of the parliament he executed not that office, but having an insinuating wit and tongue, procured himself to be deputy recorder of Nottingham, my lord of Clare being chief. When the king was in town a little before, this man so insinuated himself into the court, that, coming to kiss the king's hand, the king told him he was a very honest man;[1] yet by flatteries and dissimulations he kept up his credit with the godly, cutting his hair, and taking up a form of godliness, the better to deceive. In some of the corrupt times he had purchased the honour of a barrister, though he had neither law nor learning, but he had a voluble tongue, and was crafty; and it is almost incredible that one of his mean education and poverty should arrive to such things as he reached. He was very poor, although he got abundance of money by a thousand cheats and other base ways, wherein he exercised all his life; but he was as

[1] Mr. Bailey gives the following extract from the Hull Book of Nottingham, which explains the incident alluded to. The king arrived at Nottingham on July 21, 1642. "July 21, 1642. This company (*i.e.* the mayor and corporation) do hold it fitting to present the prince with fifty pounds in gold and a purse; and Mr. Chadwick, at the request of the company, is content to prepare a speech to the prince's highness, and to present the same purse and gold."

great a prodigal in spending as knave in getting, and among other villanies which he secretly practised, he was a libidinous goat, for which his wife, they say, paid him with making him a cuckold; yet were there not two persons to be found that pretended more sanctity than these two, she having a tongue no less glavering and false than his. Such baseness he had, that all the just reproaches in the world could not move him, but he would fawn upon any man that told him of his villanies to his face, even at the very time. Never was a truer Judas, since Iscariot's time, than he, for he would kiss the man he had in his heart to kill; he naturally delighting in mischief and treachery, and was so exquisite a villain, that he destroyed those designs he might have thriven by, with overlaying them with fresh knaveries.[1] I have been a little tedious in these descriptions, yet have spoken very little in comparison of what the truth would bear; indeed, such assistants as these were enough

[1] Major-general Whalley gives a much more favourable character of Chadwick. "The business for ejecting ministers goes on very well in Lincolnshire; I had almost forgot to tell you that Colonel Chadwick is very forward to serve his highness in this business, both at Nottingham and Derby, being recorder for both the towns, and being very able and well-esteemed of, even amongst honest and godly men, as far as I can hitherto learn. Certainly it was not a true character that was given of him to his highness."—Letter to Thurloe, November 17, 1655.

to disgrace the best cause by their owning of it; but the truth of God being above the testimony of men, could neither receive credit from the good, nor discredit from the worst men; but they were not all such, who first offered themselves to carry on the Lord's work with him of whom we chiefly treat. There was then dwelling at Nottingham a third son of the Earl of Kingston, a man of good natural parts, but not of education according to his quality, who was in the main well affected to honest men and to righteous liberty; a man of a very excellent good nature, and full of love to all men; but his goodness received a little allay by a vain-glorious pride, which could not well brook that any other should outstrip him in virtue and estimation.[1] Mr. Francis Thornhagh, the eldest son of Sir Francis Thornhagh, was a man of a most upright faithful heart to God and his people, and to his country's true interest, comprehended in the parliament's cause; a man of greater valour or more noble daring, fought not for them, nor indeed ever drew sword in any cause; he was of a most excellent good nature to all men, and zealous for his friend; he wanted counsel and deliberation, and was

[1] Mr. Francis Pierrepont, who will frequently be mentioned again in the course of the story, when it will be clearly seen that Mrs. Hutchinson here speaks with candour, or rather favour of him, though he was her husband's opponent.—J. H.

sometimes too facile to flatterers, but had judgment enough to discern his errors when they were represented to him, and worth enough not to persist in an injurious mistake because he had once entertained it.[1] Mr. Pigott was a very religious, serious, wise gentlemen, true-hearted to God and his country, of a generous and liberal nature, and who thought nothing too dear to expose, nor too difficult to undertake, for his friend; one that delighted not in the ruin of his neighbours, but could endure it, rather than the destruction of religion, law, and liberty; one that wanted not courage, yet chose rather to venture himself as a single person than as a leader in arms, and to serve his country in counsel than in action; no man in his nature, and his whole deportment, showed himself more of a gentleman than he.[2] There was one Mr. Wid-

[1] Colonel Thornhagh is often mentioned by other writers, and always with praise in his military capacity, in which only he was known to the public. Mrs. Hutchinson here delineates with a masterly hand a frank, open, unsuspecting, amiable soldier. The family of Colonel Thornhagh continued to flourish in the county of Nottingham so late as the year 1750, at which time one of them represented the county; they are believed to be now extinct in the male line, and their possessions to have centered in a female who was the lady of Francis Ferrand Foljambe, Esq.—J. H.

[2] Mr. Pigott survived Colonel Hutchinson about five years. He was summoned to parliament by Cromwell, but it is

merpoole, a man of good extraction, but reduced to a small fortune, had declined all the splendour of an old house, and sunk into the condition of the middle men of the country, yet had a perfect honest heart to God, his country, and his friend; he had a good discretion, and though older than all the rest, was so humble as to be content to come in the rear of them all; having through the declining of his family, the slenderness of his estate, and the parsimony of his nature, less interest in the country.[1] To yoke with him, there

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very uncertain whether he condescended to sit or not to sit. Thoroton, in his "History of Nottinghamshire," says of him that "he was a person of great parts, natural and acquired; he was sheriff of the county in 1669, and died presently after the summer assizes; at which time, being in mourning for his daughter Mary, wife of Robert, eldest son of Sir Francis Burdett, of Formark, he gave his attendants black liveries with silver trimmings, which served for his own funeral. His sobriety, ingenuity, generosity, piety, and other virtues, few of his rank will ever exceed, if any equal."

It is thought necessary to take more particular notice of what may appertain to Ireton, Colonel Thornhagh, and Mr. Pigott, because they are the three persons who enjoyed the greatest share in the friendship and esteem of Colonel Hutchinson, and made him a due return.—J. H.

[1] The pedigree of the family of Widmerpoole, in Thoroton, shows him to have been of very ancient and good descent; his ancestor represented the town of Nottingham in the reign of Edward the Third.—J. H.

was a very honest man, who could not be reckoned among the gentry, though he was called by the name of *Mr.* Lomax,[1] he was in the strength and perfection of his age, a stout and an understanding man, plain and blunt, but withal godly, faithful to his country, and honest to all men. There lived at Nottingham, a man called Mr. Salusbury, who had very good abilities with his pen, upon which he was taken in to be their secretary; but he proved ambitious and froward, and being poor, when he was after made treasurer, fell into some temptation; but carried at first a fair colour of religion and honesty. These were they with whom Mr. Hutchinson was first mated, whose character it was necessary thus far to hint at, for the better carrying on of his story.

Sir John Digby having notice that they had prevented him, by getting arms in their hands before, came not to Nottingham; where they, having now taken up the sword, saw it was not safe to lay it down again, and hold a naked throat to their enemy's whetted knives. Whereupon, upon the parliament's commission for settling the militia sometime before, there having been three colonels nominated, viz. Sir Francis Thornhagh, Sir Francis Molineux, and Mr. Francis Pierrepont, they pro-

[1] A letter by Mr. Lomax is printed in the "Fairfax Correspondence, Memorials of the Civil Wars," vol. i. p. 229.

pounded to them to raise their regiments. Sir Francis Molineux altogether declined; Sir Francis Thornhagh appointed his son for his lieutenant-colonel, and began to raise a regiment of horse, with whom many of the honest men that first enlisted themselves with Mr. George Hutchinson, became troopers. Mr. John Hutchinson and his brother were persuaded to be lieutenant-colonel and major to Colonel Pierrepont's regiment of foot; and accordingly Mr. George Hutchinson had immediately a very good standing company of foot, formed out of those townsmen who first came in to list under him. Mr. John Hutchinson had a full company of very honest, godly men, who came for love of him and the cause, out of the country. It was six weeks before the colonel could be persuaded to put on a sword, or to list any men, which at length he did, of substantial honest townsmen; and Mr. Poulton, a nephew of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, a stout young gentleman, who had seen some service abroad, was his captain-lieutenant. There were two companies more raised, one under Captain Lomax, and another under one Captain Scrimpshire. The first thing these gentlemen did was to call home Captain White with his dragoons, raised in Nottinghamshire, to the service of his own country; for Sir John Gell, at Derby, had received from Hull a regiment of grey coats, who were at first sent down from London, for the

assistance of that place, when the king attempted it. They also sent to the Earl of Essex, to desire that Captain Ireton, with a troop of horse, which he had carried out of the country into his excellency's army, might be commanded back, for the present service of his country, till it was put into a posture of defence; which accordingly he was, and was major of the horse regiment. They sent also to the parliament, and received from them a commission, with instructions, whereby they were empowered to levy forces and to raise contributions for maintaining them; with all authority for seizing delinquents, sequestring, and the like. The committee appointed were the parliament-men that served for the county, Mr Francis Pierrepont, Mr. John Hutchinson, Mr. Francis Thornhagh, Mr. Gervase Pigott, Mr. Henry Ireton, Mr. George Hutchinson, Mr. Joseph Widmerpoole, Mr. Gervase Lomax, Dr. Plumptre, the mayor of Nottingham, Mr. James Chadwick, and Mr. Thomas Salusbury. Then did neighbouring counties everywhere associate for the mutual assistance of each other; and the parliament commissioned major-generals, who commanded in chief, and gave out commissions to the several commanders of the regiments. Nottinghamshire was put into the association with Leicestershire and other counties, whereof Lord Grey of Grooby, eldest son of the Earl of Stamford, was commander-in-chief, and from him the

gentlemen of Nottingham took their first commissions.[1]

The high sheriff and the malignant gentry, finding an opposition they expected not, wrote a letter to Mr. Francis Pierrepont and Mr. John Hutchinson, excusing the sheriff's force, that he brought with him, and desiring a meeting with them, to consult for the peace of the country, security of their estates, and such like fair pretences;[2] which letter was civilly answered them again, and the treaty kept on foot some fourteen days, by letters signed by the Lord Chaworth, Sir Thomas Williamson, Mr. Sutton, Sir Gervase Eyre, Sir John Digby, Sir Roger Cooper, Mr. Palmer, Mr. John Millington. At length a meeting was appointed at a village in the country, on the forest side, where Mr. Sutton should have met Mr. John Hutchinson. Mr. Hutchinson came to the place, but found not Mr. Sutton there, only the Lord Chaworth came in and called for sack, and treated Mr. Hutchinson very kindly; when Mr. Hutchinson, telling my lord he

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[1] The ordinance for the association of the counties of Northampton, Leicester, Derby, Rutland, Nottingham, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Buckingham is given in Rushworth, Vol. III. ii. 119. It is dated January 16, 1643.

[2] The correspondence relative to the proposed treaty of neutrality for Nottinghamshire is printed in the appendix, from the copies in Mrs. Hutchinson's Note-Book in the British Museum.

was come according to appointment, to conclude the treaty which had been between Nottingham and Newark, my lord told him he knew nothing of it. Whereupon, Mr. Hutchinson being informed that some of my Lord Newcastle's forces were to be in that town that night, and that Mr. Sutton was gone to meet them, and conduct them into the country, returned to Nottingham, where he received a kind of lame excuse from Mr. Sutton for his disappointing of him, and for their bringing strange soldiers into Newark, which they pretended was to save the town from the plunder of some Lincolnshire forces. But Mr. Hutchinson, seeing all their treaties were but a snare for him, would no longer amuse himself about them; but being certainly informed that Henderson, who commanded the soldiers at Newark, if he were not himself a papist, had many Irish papists in his troops, he, with the rest of the gentlemen, sent notice to all the towns about Nottingham, desiring the well-affected to come in to their assistance; which the ministers pressing them to do, upon Christmas-day, 1642, many came to them, and stayed with them till they had put themselves into some posture of defence.[1]

[1] On the 14th of December the corporation of Nottingham subscribed £100, and the members of the committee £200, for the payment of the soldiers then in the town. On the 18th the members of the corporation, in company with ten other gentlemen, held a meeting at the Guildhall, when it

As soon as these strange soldiers were come into Newark, they presently began to block up and fortify the town, as on the other side, they at Nottingham began works about that town; but neither of them being yet strong enough to assault each other, they contented themselves to stand upon their own defence. The Earl of Chesterfield had raised some horse for the king, and was in the vale of Belvoir with them, where he had plundered some houses near Mr. Hutchinson's; whereupon Mr. Hutchinson sent a troop of horse in the night, for they were not strong enough to march in the

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was unanimously agreed to invite the gentlemen of the county to join with the townspeople for the defence of the town.—Bailey, "Annals of Notts," p. 973.

The troops in the town at this time seem to have been mainly Derbyshire men. Gell's "True Relation" says, "Derbyshire being cleared, Captain White went to Nottingham Castle, seized upon all the arms, and sent to Sir John Gell immediately to assist him with some foot, whereupon he sent his Major Mollanus with three hundred foot, when he began to fortify Nottingham, and set them in a posture of defence, and assisted Colonel Pierrepont to make up his regiment of foot, and we continued there some nine or ten days." After their departure Sir John Henderson writes from Newark on January 5, 1643: "There is no force at all in Nottingham except Captain White's, who has retired to the castle and victualled it. They have cast three pieces of ordinance in Nottingham which lie as yet in the town."—Sixth Report of Hist. MSS. Commission, p. 1 (where it is wrongly dated 1644).

day, and fetched away his wife and children to Nottingham.

The preservation of this town was a special service to the parliament, it being a considerable pass into the north, which, if the enemy had first possessed themselves of, the parliament would have been cut off from all intercourse between the north and south; especially in the winter time, when the river Trent is not fordable, and only to be passed over by the bridges of Nottingham and Newark, and up higher at a place called Wilden Ferry, where the enemy also had a garrison.[1] The attempting to preserve this place, in the midst of so many potent enemies, was a work of no small difficulty; and nothing but an invincible courage, and a passionate zeal for the interest of God and his country, could have engaged Mr. Hutchinson, who did not, through youthful inconsideration and improvidence, want a foresight of those dangers and travails he then undertook. He knew well enough that the town was more than half disaffected to the parliament; that had they been all other-

[1] In the place of Wilden Ferry has been substituted in modern days a very beautiful bridge, called Cavendish Bridge, with a good and firm road of considerable length at each end to approach it; it is about midway on the high road between Loughborough and Derby. There is near to it a place called Sawley Ferry, little used, and hardly at all practicable in winter.—J. H.

wise, they were not half enough to defend it against any unequal force; that they were far from the parliament and their armies, and could not expect any timely relief or assistance from them; that he himself was the forlorn hope of those who were engaged with him, and had then the best stake among them; that the gentlemen who were on horseback, when they could no longer defend their country, might at least save their lives by a handsome retreat to the army; but that he must stand victorious, or fall, tying himself to an indefensible town. Although his colonel might seem to be in the same hazard, yet he was wise enough to content himself with the name, and leave Mr. Hutchinson to act in all things, the glory of which, if they succeeded, he hoped to assume; if they failed, he thought he had a retreat. But Mr. Hutchinson, though he knew all this, yet was he so well persuaded in his conscience of the cause, and of God's calling him to undertake the defence of it, that he cast by all other considerations, and cheerfully resigned up his life, and all other particular interests, to God's dispose, though in all human probability he was more like to lose than to save them.

He and his brother were so suddenly called into this work, that they had not time beforehand to consult their father; but they sent to him to buy their armour and useful swords, which he did,

giving them no discouragement, but promoting all their desires to the parliament very effectually.[1]

By reason of the coldness of the colonel,[2] the affairs of the war at Nottingham went on more tardily than else they would have done; but the gentlemen there, thinking it would be easier to prevent Newark from being made a fortified garrison, than to take it when it was so, sent over to Lincoln and Derby, to propound the business to them.[3] At length, about Candlemas, it was agreed and appointed that the forces of Nottingham and Derby should come on their side of the town, and those of Lincoln on the other. All the disaffected gentry of both those countries, were at that time gone into Newark, and one Ballard, a gentleman who, decayed

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[1] The reader is desired to bear this in mind, as it tends much to invalidate the credibility of an assertion made by the stepmother of these gentlemen, which will be noticed in its proper place. It is said, in a note by Julius Hutchinson, Esq., that Sir Thomas Hutchinson bought his two sons armour, though he knew not of their accepting commissions against the king. What was the armour for? Was it to serve the king against the parliament?—J. H.

[2] *i.e.*, Colonel Francis Pierrepont.

[3] "February 24th, 1643, by an order from his excellence the late Earl of Essex, he was commanded to send what strength he could well spare under the command of Major-general Ballard against Newark, whereupon he sent Major Mollanus with 500 foot."—"A True Relation of what Service hath been done by Colonel Sir John Gell."

in his family, and owing his education to many of them, had been bred up in the wars abroad, was commander-in-chief for the parliament in Lincolnshire. Much ado had the gentlemen of that county to engage him in the design against Newark; but when he could not divert them, he was resolved to cast them away rather than ruin his old benefactors. He had appointed the forces of Nottingham and Derby to come to a rendezvous within a mile of Newark, upon Saturday, upon which day, all the persuasion the Lincolnshire gentlemen could use, could not prevail with him to march out, according to appointment; which those at Newark had notice of, and had prepared an ambuscade to have cut off all those forces if they had then come to the place; but by providence of an extraordinary stormy season, they marched not till the next day, and so were preserved from that danger, which no doubt was treacherously contrived. As soon as they came, being about a thousand horse, foot, and dragoons, the Lincolnshire commanders informed ours of the sloth and untoward carriage of Ballard, and told them how that day he had played his ordinance at a mile's distance from the town; and how, when the Newark horse came out to face them, upon the Beacon Hill, he would not suffer a man of the Lincolnshire troops to fall upon them, though the Lincoln horse were many more in number than they, and in all probability might have beaten

them.[1] The next day, notwithstanding Mr. Hutchinson went to him, to give him an account of the forces they had brought, and to receive orders, he could have none, but a careless answer to stand at such a side of the town and fall on as they saw occasion. Accordingly they did, and beat the enemy from their works, with the loss of only four or five men, and entrenched themselves; the night coming on upon them, they provided straw to have lodged in their trenches all the night. On the other side of the town, Captain King, of Lincolnshire,[2] had taken a street, cut up a chain, and placed a drake[3] in a house; whereupon the Newark gentlemen were

[1] Saturday was the 25th of February. Ballard's united forces came before Newark on Monday, February 27th. On that day, says the royalist account, Henderson having no guns, planted his cavalry on Beacon Hill to delay the advance of the parliamentarians. "The enemy seeing him so planted, advanced upon him with the whole body of their army, and still as they came forwards, forced him to retire by the advantage of their cannon, which he wanted; till at length, by three removes he drew more near unto his works, and so at last unto the town."

A brief relation of the remarkable occurrences in the northern parts, viz., the landing of the Queen's Majesty at Burlington Bay, and the repulse given unto the rebels at the town of Newark.

[2] Probably the Colonel King whose quarrel with Lord Willoughby is recorded in the Journals of the House of Lords for 1644, vol. vi., pp. 528, 536, 543, 558.

[3] Drake, a piece of cannon so called.—J. H.

almost resolved to yield up the town, and some of them began to fly out of it, but Ballard would not suffer the horse to pursue them; only one captain went out without his leave and took fifty horses, and turned back Mr. Sutton and many others that were flying out of the town. At length, when he could no other way preserve his old patrons, but by betraying his friends, he ordered Captain King to retreat; whereupon the whole force of Newark fell upon the forces of Nottingham and Derby, in their trenches, where they fought very resolutely, till a Lincolnshire trooper came and bade them fly for their lives, or else they were all lost men.[1] At this, two hundred Lincolnshire men, whom Ballard with much entreaty had sent to relieve them, first ran away, and then Sir John Gell's grey coats made their retreat after them. Major Hutchinson and Captain White all this while kept their trenches,

[1] This account is confirmed by Sir John Gell's "True Relation," where it is stated that Major Mollanus, being asked on his return how they had fared at Newark, said, "That he readily thought they were betrayed by the commander-in-chief, which was Major-general Ballard, for that they had entered the town and mastered the works, and then commanded back by the said Ballard, without doing anything at all, and so returned with the loss of some men and one drake, and had not Nottingham men and his stood against the said Ballard's will, closely one to another, they had lost all their ordnance, which they fetched off, whether he would or not."

and commanded their Nottingham men not to stir, who accordingly shot there, till all their powder was spent. The lieutenant-colonel in vain importuned Ballard to send them ammunition and relief, but could obtain neither, and so they were forced, unwillingly, to retreat, which they did in such good order, the men first, and then their captains, that they lost not a man in coming off. The town was sallying upon them, but they discharged a drake and beat them back.[1] The next day all the captains importuned Ballard that they might fall on again, but he would neither consent nor give any reason of his denial; so that the Nottingham forces returned with great dissatisfaction, though Ballard, to stop their mouths, gave them two pieces of ordnance.[2]

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[1] Mrs. Hutchinson's Note-Book gives a few details. "There was a drake planted by them against the enemy, which when they could by no means procure any horses to draw off, a dragooner of Nottingham charged with a double charge, and rammed it up to the mouth with stones, and discharged it upon the enemy as they began to sally forth, which made them retreat into the town."

[2] "Mercurius Aulicus" of April 5th mentions that the committee of Nottingham have sent two gentlemen to complain of Ballard and request his removal. The Journals of the House of Commons show that this deputation appeared before the House on March 30th, 1643, and their complaints about Ballard were then referred to the Committee of Safety. On April 19th, a petition from the Nottingham Committee

It being necessary to carry on the main story, for the better understanding the motion of those lesser wheels that moved within the great orb, I shall now name in what posture things were abroad in the kingdom, while these affairs I relate were transacted at Nottingham. After the retreat from Brainford fight, a treaty was ineffectually carried on between the king and parliament from the 31st of January, 1643, to the 17th of April, 1643; after which my Lord of Essex marched to Reading, where the king had a garrison, and besieged it. The king's horse came to relieve it, and had an encounter with my lord's army, wherein many gentlemen of quality fell on the king's side, the king himself being in a place where he saw them. A few days after, Reading was yielded upon composition to the Earl of Essex, whose soldiers having been promised their pay and a gratuity to spare the plunder of the town, fell into a mutiny upon the failing of the performance, and many of them disbanded.[1] Among those who remained there was a

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was presented by Colonel Hutchinson, and in answer to it the Committee of Safety were ordered "to appoint and despatch away a commander-in-chief, such as the gentlemen of Nottinghamshire, upon perusal of the list of reformado officers with the clerk of that committee, shall make choice of." The despatch of Sir John Meldrum in June was the result of this.

[1] Reading was taken on April 27th. The encounter

great mortality, occasioned by the infected air in the town of Reading; insomuch that my lord was forced to return and quarter his sick and weak army about Kingston and those towns near London. And now were all the countries in England no longer idle spectators, but several stages, whereon the tragedy of the civil war was acted; except the eastern association, where Mr. Oliver Cromwell, by his diligence, prevented the designs of the royal party; these were so successful the first year in all other places, and the parliament's condition appeared so desperate, as many of the members of both houses ran away to Oxford to the king, and others sat among them conspiring against them. One plot, conducted by Mr. Waller, and carried on among many disaffected persons in the city, was near taking effect, to the utter subversion of the parliament and people; but that God, by his providence, brought it timely to light, and the authors were condemned, and some of them executed; but Waller, for being more a knave than the rest, and peaching his accomplices, was permitted to buy his life for ten thousand

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referred to took place at Caversham Bridge on April 25th. May thus explains the mutiny, "the parliament, before Reading was delivered up, had approved of the conditions and promised to the Lord-General's soldiers, to forbear plundering, twelve shillings a man, besides their pay. But neither of those were then performed."—"History of the Long Parliament," p. 279.

pounds. This summer all the west was reduced by the king, the Earl of Stamford yielding up Exeter, and Colonel Fiennes Bristol. Sir William Waller had lost all his army, which had been victorious in many encounters.[1] The king was master of all or most part of Wales, and the parliament had no army left in the field, so that had he taken the opportunity to have gone immediately to London that summer, he had accomplished his design; but being denied the town of Gloucester, and taking it in disdain, that that town, in the heart of the land, should make a resistance when the greater cities were yielded to him, he stopped his course to take in that place, where he stayed to turn the tide of his good fortune, as his general, my Lord of Newcastle, did at the siege of Hull.[2] My Lord New-

[1] Waller's plot was detected on May 31st, 1643. The battle of Roundway Down, in which Waller's army was "utterly defeated, scattered, and ruined," was fought on July 13th. Bristol was taken on July 26th, and Exeter on September 4th. With regard to the resistance of Gloucester May uses an expression rather similar to Mrs. Hutchinson's, "the king was full of indignation that such a forlorn city should stand out against him."

[2] The impolicy of this measure is more fully noticed and explained, and the cause of it set down by Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, p. 260. "One or the like counsel in both quarters, north and west, soon blasted the prosperity in each place, for the king pitched upon that fatal resolution, recommended to him by Lord Culpeper, of besieging

castle was general of the north, and master of all the strong places to the very borders of Scotland, and formidable to all the neighbouring counties. Only the Lord Fairfax, with his son Sir Thomas, headed all the religious, honest Englishmen they could raise in those parts, and with a far inferior force, kept him in play, and in several skirmishes

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Gloucester, thinking it a good policy not to leave a strong town behind him: but the counsel proved fatal, for had the king at that time resolved in himself to have struck at the proud head of London, and had had authority enough at that time to have required the Earl of Newcastle to have joined with him, humanly speaking, he had raised such confusion among the two houses and the Londoners, that they had either sent him his own terms, or if they had fought him, most probably he had been victorious. But the king fixes on Gloucester and the Earl of Newcastle upon Hull, upon the advice of his Lieutenant-General, King, who was suspected."

A few pages further, he reekons among the king's misfortunes the Earl of Newcastle's too much affecting independency, which may serve to account for some other matters which will occur; but it is here natural to observe, that the king having, by separating himself from his parliament, lost his acknowledged and unquestionable authority, he retained only a very precarious one over the different chiefs of his party: which, on many occasions, turned to the disadvantage of his cause. After all, it is in no way certain that his march to London would have been so effectual and so little opposed, as it is here taken for granted it would have been.—J. H.

came off conquerors.[1] But as the fortune of the parliament declined in other places, so those who had not principle strong enough to hold them fast to a just, though falling cause, sought early to secure their lives by treasons which destroyed them. The Earl of Newcastle's army was judged to be about eight thousand, horse and foot; my Lord Fairfax had not above two thousand one hundred foot, and seven troops of horse. After this there was a great accession of strength to my Lord Newcastle, by the coming, first of the Lord Goring, with many old commanders; then of General King, with six thousand arms, from beyond the seas; then of the queen herself, who, in February, 1643,[1] landed near Sunderland, coming out of Holland, with large provisions of arms, ammunition, and commanders of note, with which she was convoyed, by the Earl of Newcastle, to York; and thither came to her the Earl of Montrose, out of Scotland, with a hundred and twenty horse:[2] then Sir Hugh Cholmly, governor

[1] In fact, the resistance so long maintained, and frequently with such success, by Lord Fairfax and his sons, against so superior a force, has been always thought next to miraculous, and marked out Sir Thomas as the fittest man in the kingdom to command the forces and fix the fortunes of the parliament.—J. H.

[2] Mrs. Hutchinson's figures seem to be derived from May, who mentions the landing of Lord Goring with 200 commanders from Holland, that of General King with 6000 arms, and the coming of Montrose with 120 horse. The

of Scarborough, revolted from the parliament, whereof he was a member, and came to the queen, with three hundred men. Browne Bushell also, who was left in charge with the town, yielded it up. Then had the queen's practices wrought so upon the two Hothams, that their treason was not altogether undiscerned; but my Lord Fairfax, having only strong presumptions, and no power to secure them, while they had the strong town of Hull in their hands, it was all he could do was to be vigilant and silent, till God should give opportunity to secure that great danger. My Lord of Newcastle had given the papists in the north commissions to arm in the king's defence,[1] and now the queen was preparing

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queen landed at Bridlington on February 22d, but Mrs. Hutchinson follows May even in his errors. He writes "in the same month also the queen landing from Holland, near to Sunderland, with great provision of arms and ammunition, and many commanders of note in her retinue," &c.

[1] The king instructed Newcastle to do so by a letter dated September 23d, 1642.

"NEWCASTLE,—This is to tell you that the rebellion is grown to that height, that I must not look what opinion men are who at this time are willing and able to serve me. Therefore I do not only permit, but command you, to make use of all my loving subjects' services, without examining their consciences, more than their loyalty to us, as you shall find most to conduce to the upholding of my just regal power. So I rest your most assured faithful friend,

"CHARLES R."

—Warburton's "Prince Rupert," v. 317.

to march up with the assistance she had gotten to the king. Those countries through which she was to pass, could not but be sensible of their danger, especially the gentlemen at Nottingham, who were but a few young men, environed with garrisons of the enemy, and scarcely firm among themselves, and hopeless of relief from above, where the parliament, struggling for life, had not leisure to bind up a cut finger. But God was with them in these difficulties, and gave an unexpected issue.

The Earl of Kingston a few months stood neuter, and would not declare himself for either party, and being a man of great wealth and dependencies, many people hung in suspense, by his example; whereupon the gentlemen of Nottingham often spoke to his son, to persuade his father to declare himself; but he told them, he knew his father's affections were firm to the parliament, that he had encouraged him to join with them, and promised him money to carry it on, and such like things, which he continually assured them; till the colonel's cold behaviour, and some other passages, made them at length, those at least who were firm to the cause, jealous both of the father and the son. Hereupon, when the danger grew more imminent, and my lord lay out a brave prey to the enemy, they sent Captain Lomax, one of the committee, to understand his affections from himself, and to press him to declare for the parliament, in that so needful a season.

My lord, professing himself to him as rather desirous of peace, and fully resolved not to act on either side, made a serious imprecation on himself in these words: "When," said he, "I take arms with the king against the parliament, or with the parliament against the king, let a cannon-bullet divide me between them;" which God was pleased to bring to pass a few months after; for he, going to Gainsborough, and there taking up arms for the king, was surprised by my Lord Willoughby, and, after a handsome defence of himself, yielded, and was put prisoner into a pinnace, and sent down the river to Hull:[1] when my Lord Newcastle's army marching along the shore, shot at the pinnace, and being in danger, the Earl of Kingston went up on the deck to show himself and to prevail with them to forbear shooting;[2] but as soon as he appeared, a cannon-bullet flew from the king's army, and divided him in the middle, being then in the parliament's pinnace, who perished according to his own unhappy imprecation. His declaring himself for the king, as it enforced the royal, so it weakened the other party.

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[1] Gainsborough was taken July 16, 1643. The Earl of Kingston's death took place July 30th.

[2] This is a most singular story, and no doubt peculiarly gratifying to a fatalist to recite; it is however assuredly true, being mentioned by several historians, with only the difference of his being said to be under, instead of on, the deck; the latter of which is by far the most probable.—J. H.

Sir Richard Byron was come to be governor of Newark. A house of my Lord Chaworth's in the vale was fortified, and some horse put into it, and another house of the Earl of Chesterfield's, both of them within a few miles of Nottingham.[1] Ashby de la Zouch, within eighteen miles of Nottingham, on the other side, was kept by Mr. Hastings. On the forest side of the country, the Earl of Newcastle's house had a garrison, and another castle of his, within a mile, was garrisoned. Sir Roger Cooper's house, at Thurgaton, was also kept; so that Nottingham, thus beleaguered with enemies, seemed very unlikely to be able either to resist the enemy or support itself.[2] Therefore the gentlemen, upon the news of my Lord Newcastle's intended approach that way, sent up Mr. John Hutchinson to acquaint the parliament with their condition; who so negotiated their business that he procured an order for Colonel Cromwell, Colonel Hubbard, my Lord Grey, and Sir John Gell, to unite their forces, and rendezvous at Nottingham, to prevent the queen from joining with the king, and to guard those parts against the cavaliers.[3] Accordingly, in the

[1] Wiverton House and Shelford Manor.—J. H.

[2] In a letter to the king, the queen writes from Newark that "all the force the parliament had in those parts was only one thousand men in Nottingham."—J. H.

[3] Lieutenant-colonel Hutchinson presented a petition from the Nottingham Committee to the House of Commons

Whitsun holidays, 1643, they all came, and the younger Hotham also brought some more rude troops out of Yorkshire, and joined himself to them.[1] The forces now united at Nottingham were about five or six thousand, my Lord Grey being their commander-in-chief. Upon the urgency of the gentlemen at Nottingham, he drew them out against Wiverton-house in the vale, but, upon a groundless apprehension, quitted it, when they might in all probability have taken it, and retreated to Nottingham, where, two or three days after, the enemy's horse faced them; but they would not be prevailed upon to go out, though they were not inferior to them. Young Hotham, at that time, carried on a private treaty with the queen, and every day received and sent trumpets, of which he would give no account. Then was Nottingham more sadly distressed by their friends than by

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on April 19, 1643. The House ordered "that Mr. Millington do prepare a letter to be sent to the Lord Grey, the son of the Earl of Stamford; to Sir John Gell, and to the committee of Lincoln respectively, to desire them to send what aid and assistance they can to the town of Nottingham, the House having a special regard of that place, as a place of great importance to be preserved." On April 28th the House approved the draft of a letter to be sent to the Lord-general to take special care for the preservation of Nottingham. See Appendix.

[1] See note on the rendezvous at Nottingham in Appendix.

their enemies; for Hotham's and Gell's men not only lay upon free quarter, as all the rest did, but made such a havoc and plunder of friend and foe, that it was a sad thing for any one that had a generous heart to behold it. When the committee offered Hotham to assign him quarters for his men, because they were better acquainted with the country, he would tell them he was no stranger in any English ground. He had a great deal of wicked wit, and would make sport with the miseries of the poor country; and, having treason in his heart, licensed his soldiers, which were the scum of mankind, to all the villanies in the country that might make their party odious. Mr. Hutchinson was much vexed to see the country wasted, and that little part of it, which they could only hope to have contribution from, eaten up by a company of men who, instead of relieving them, devoured them; and Hotham's soldiers, having taken away goods from some honest men, he went to him to desire restitution of them, and that he would restrain his soldiers from plunder; whereupon Hotham replied, "he fought for liberty, and expected it in all things." Replies followed, and they grew to high language; Hotham bidding him, if he found himself grieved, to complain to the parliament. Mr. Hutchinson was passionately concerned, and this being in the open field, Colonel Cromwell, who had likewise had great provocations from him, began to show him-

self affected with the country's injuries, and the idle waste of such a considerable force, through the inexperience of the chief commander, and the disobedience and irregularities of the others. So they, at that time, being equally zealous for the public service, advised together to seek a remedy, and despatched away a post to London, who had no greater joy in the world than such employments as tended to the displacing of great persons, whether they deserved it or not;[1] him they sent away immediately from the place, to inform the parliament of Hotham's carriages, and the strong presumptions they had of his treachery, and the ill management of their forces. This they two did, without the privity of any of the other gentlemen or commanders; some of whom were little less suspected themselves, and others, as my Lord Grey, through credulous good nature, a too great favourer of Hotham. The messenger was very diligent in his charge, and returned, as soon as it was possible, with a commitment of Hotham; who accordingly was then made prisoner in Nottingham Castle, and Sir John Meldrum was sent down to be commander-in-chief of all those united forces. When they marched away, a troop of my Lord

[1] The messenger was Captain White, whose name is given in the Note-Book.

Grey's, having the charge of guarding Hotham towards London, suffered him to escape, and thereby put the town of Hull into a great hazard; but that the father and son were there unexpectedly surprised, sent up prisoners to London, and after some time executed. Those who knew the opinion Cromwell afterwards had of Mr. Hutchinson, believed he registered this business in his mind as long as he lived, and made it his care to prevent him from being in any power or capacity to pursue him to the same punishment, when he deserved it; but from that time, growing into more intimate acquaintance with him, he always used to profess the most hearty affections for him, and the greatest delight in his plainness and open-heartedness that was imaginable.

As soon as Sir John Meldrum came down to his charge at Nottingham, the queen's forces came and faced the town; whereupon the cannon discharging upon them, the Duke of Vendome's son and some few others were slain.[1] The parliament horse drew out of Nottingham to receive the queen's, but they came not on, after this execution of the cannon, for in the meantime the queen was passing by, and although the parliament horse pursued them, yet they would not engage, for it was not their busi-

[1] Vendome, as I have explained in the Appendix, is probably a mistake for Von Dohna.

ness; so when they saw they had lost their design, the horse returned again to Nottingham, where the foot had stayed all the while they were out. When the Earl of Kingston declared himself for the king, he raised what forces he could, and went into Gainsborough, a town in Lincolnshire, situated upon the river Trent. There, before he was fortified, my Lord Willoughby, of Parham, surprised the town and all his soldiers, who disputed it as long as they could, but being conquered, were forced to yield; and the earl himself retreated into the strongest house, which he kept till it was all on flame round him, and then giving himself up only to my Lord Willoughby, he was immediately sent prisoner to Hull, and shot according to his own imprecation. Immediately part of my Lord Newcastle's army, with all that Newark could make, besieged my Lord Willoughby in Gainsborough; and General Essex sent a command to Sir John Meldrum to draw all the horse and foot he could out of Nottingham, to relieve my lord, leaving only a garrison in the castle of Nottingham. Sir John Meldrum called the committee of Nottingham together, to consult what was to be done for the settlement of the place, which upon deliberation he had judged not fit to leave in the hands it was, nor in Colonel Pierrepont's, who, with some appearance, lay under suspicion at that time; and therefore conceiving Mr. Hutchinson the most able to manage, and the

most responsible for it,[1] both Sir John and the whole committee ordered him to take the castle into his charge; which, though there were many causes why he should decline, yet believing that God hereby called him to the defence of his country, and would protect him in all the dangers and difficulties he led him into, he accepted it, and on the 29th June, 1643, received an order for that government from Sir John Meldrum and the whole committee. Whereunto Col. Pierrepont subscribed, though with a secret discontent in his heart; not from any ill opinion or ill affection he had to Mr. Hutchinson's person, but for that he resented it as a great affront that himself was passed by. It is true that this discontent produced some envious and malicious practices, secretly in him, against Mr. Hutchinson, who however in the end overcame him, with so many good offices, in requital of his bad ones, that he lived and died full of love, and acknowledgment of kindness to him.

The castle was built upon a rock, and nature had made it capable of very strong fortification, but the buildings were very ruinous and uninhabitable, neither affording room to lodge soldiers nor

[1] The Note-Book gives this further explanation of responsible. "Captain Lomax, that was in the castle, though esteemed a very honest man, yet Sir John Meldrum said his estate in the county was not responsible for it."

provisions. The castle stands at one end of the town, upon such an eminence as commands the chief streets of the town. There had been enlargements made to this castle after the first building of it. There was a strong tower, which they called the old tower, built upon the top of all the rock, and this was that place where Queen Isabel, the mother of King Edward the Third, was surprised with her paramour Mortimer, who, by secret windings and hollows in the rock, came up into her chamber from the meadows lying low under it, through which there ran a little rivulet, called the Line, almost under the castle rock. At the entrance of this rock there was a spring, which was called Mortimer's Well, and the cavern Mortimer's Hole. The ascent to the top is very high, and not without some wonder that at the top of all the rock there is a spring of water. In the midway to the top of this tower there is a little piece of the rock, on which a dove-coat had been built, but the governor took down the roof of it, and made it a platform for two or three pieces of ordnance, which commanded some streets and all the meadows better than the higher tower. Under that tower, which was the old castle, there was a larger castle, where there had been several towers and many noble rooms, but the most of them were down; the yard of that was pretty large, and without the gate there was a very large yard that had been

walled, but the walls were all down, only it was situated upon an ascent of the rock, and so stood a pretty height above the streets; and there were the ruins of an old pair of gates, with turrets on each side.

Before the castle, the town was on one side of a close, which commanded the fields approaching the town; which close the governor afterwards made a platform. Behind it was a place called the Park, that belonged to the castle, but then had neither deer nor trees in it, except one tree, growing under the castle, which was almost a prodigy, for from the root to the top, there was not a straight twig or branch in it; some said it was planted by King Richard the Third, and resembled him that set it. On the other side the castle, was the little river of Line, and beyond that, large flat meadows, bounded by the river Trent. In the whole rock there were many large caverns, where a great magazine and many hundred soldiers might have been disposed, if they had been cleansed and prepared for it, and might have been kept secure from any danger of firing the magazines by any mortar-pieces shot against the castle. In one of these places, it is reported, that one David, a Scotch king, was kept in cruel durance, and with his nails had scratched on the wall the story of Christ and his twelve apostles. The castle was not flankered,[1] and there were no works about it,

[1] Flankered, *i.e.*, there were no flanking works or outworks.

when Mr. Hutchinson undertook it, but only a little breastwork, before the outermost gate. It was as ill provided as fortified, there being but ten barrels of powder, eleven hundred and fifty pounds of butter, and as much cheese, eleven quarters of bread corn, seven beeves, two hundred and fourteen flitches of bacon, five hundred and sixty fishes, and fifteen hogsheads of beer. As soon as the governor received his charge, he made proclamation in the town, that whatsoever honest persons desired to secure themselves or their goods in the castle, should have reception there, if they would repair their quarters; which divers well-affected men accepting, it was presently made capable of receiving 400 men commodiously.

In the beginning of July, 1643, Sir John Meldrum, with all the force that was quartered in Nottingham, marched forth to the relief of Gainsborough, leaving the town to be guarded by few more than the very townsmen.[1] There had been

[1] Meldrum had already made one brief expedition from Nottingham to join Gell in besieging Tulbury; immediately on his return he was summoned to relieve Gainsborough. "So soon as Sir John Meldrum came to Nottingham, he drew out all the forces then in the town, excepting some four hundred, which he left in the castle with Colonel Hutchinson, and marched southwards towards Peterborough; but Nottingham townsmen sent forward to Colonel Gell to assist them, while they were removing their goods into the

large works made about it, which would have required at least three thousand men to man and defend well, and upon these works there were about fourteen guns, which the governor, when the forces were marching away, before they went, drew up to the castle; whereupon the townsmen, especially those that were ill-affected to the parliament, made a great mutiny, threatening they would pull the castle down, but they would have their ordnance again upon their works, and wishing it on fire and not one stone upon another. Hereupon the governor sent Alderman Drury, with fourteen more, that were heads of this mutiny, prisoners to Derby, whither Major Ireton convoyed them with his troop. The reasons which made the governor carry the ordnance from the town-works up into the castle were, 1st. That the town, being so ill affected, the ordnance remaining in it, would but be an invitation to the enemy to come to take them away, and a booty for them if they should. 2ndly. He had often visited the guards, and found them much exposed by their

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castle, for they were left in a most miserable condition: he presently made ready three hundred dragoons and sent thither his said Major Mollanus, to continue there till they had removed their goods into the castle, and left the town desolate, but some few of the townsmen within."—Gell's "True Relation," Glover's Derbyshire, vol. i. Appendix, p. 64.

carelessness, wherefore he thought it his duty to preserve them, by soldiers more under his command. 3rdly. Intelligence was brought to the committee, by a friend, then with the Earl of Newcastle, that Mr. Francis Pierrepont kept intelligence with his mother, the Countess of Kingston, carrying on a design for betraying the town to the earl; and that letters were carried between them by a woman, who often came to town to the colonel; and that two aldermen and a chief officer, employed about the ordnance, were confederates in the plot; whereupon a suspected cannonier was secured, who, as soon as he obtained his liberty, ran away to Newark. 4thly. When the town was full of troops, there had been several attempts to poison and betray them, which, if it should be again attempted, after the most of the forces were gone, might prove effectual. 5thly. The main reason was, that if the town should be surprised or betrayed (which was then most to be feared), the ordnance would be useless; if any considerable force came against the town, it was impossible then to keep the works against them, with so few men, and it would be difficult, at such a time, to draw off the artillery; if any force they were able to deal with came, it would then be time enough, after the alarm was given, to draw them to the works, unless they were surprised.

It was not only the town malignants that

murmured at the drawing up of the ordnance, but Dr. Plumptre, hearing that the forces were to march away, was raging at it; whereupon being answered, that it was more for the public interest of the cause, in great passion he replied, "What is the cause to me if my goods be lost?" The governor told him, he might prevent that hazard and secure them in the castle. He replied, "It pitied him to soil them, and he had rather the enemy had them, than they should be spoiled in removing." While this was boiling upon his spirit, he met the governor, with some other gentlemen, in the street, and began to rail at him for countenancing the godly townsmen, whom he called a company of puritanical prick-eared rascals, and said, that the worst of the malignants the governor had sent out of the town, were honester men than the best of those he favoured; and in spite of his teeth he would have three of the most eminent of them turned out of the castle. The governor telling him, he would maintain them as the most faithful friends to the cause, Plumptre replied he was as honest to the cause as the governor. "No," said the governor (who was not ignorant of his atheism), "that you cannot be, for you go not upon the same principles." The doctor told him, it was false, with such uncivil insolence, that the governor struck him, at which he departed quietly

home; and after two or three days, retired with his wife and children to the house of Mr. Parkyns of Bunney, who was at that time in arms against the parliament, where he stayed till the parliament-forces were routed, and Nottingham castle summoned and preparing for a siege; and then he sent a ridiculous challenge to the governor, with all the foolish circumstances imaginable, which the governor, at that present, only answered with contempt. The pretence he made was a distress, wherein the committee had employed some of the governor's soldiers, for the levying of an assessment, which his brother would not pay, and this distress he called the governor's affront to his family.[1] Though these

[1] The cause of the challenge is explained more in detail in the Note-Book. "About the beginning of September, there came a base, insolent challenge to the governor from Dr. Plumptre, which he neglected and gave no answer to at that time. The occasion that stirred his choler into such a rage was this. Mr. Nicholas Plumptre, the doctor's brother, had a long time before been assessed by the committee, and they having great occasion of money sent to him for it, which he having with delays from day to day put off, they sent some of the governor's own soldiers with a cart to distrain for it, which the governor knew not of, but when the goods were in the cart, Dr. Plumptre's sister came and compounded, so that they were not brought up. This Dr. Plumptre in his challenge termed an affront from the governor, to whom he allowed not the style of a gentleman, an affront to his family."—21 b.

passages may seem too impertinent here, yet they having been grounds and beginnings of injurious prosecutions, wherewith the governor was afterwards much exercised, it was not altogether unnecessary to insert them; since even these little things were links in the chain of providences which measured out his life.

All the horse that had been raised in Nottinghamshire, marched away with Sir John Meldrum, which were Colonel Thornhagh, Major Ireton, Captain White, and Captain Farmer's troops; who, together with Captain Lomax and Captain Schrimpshire's foot companies, joining with Colonel Cromwell's men, marched to Gainsborough, and engaged those that besieged it, and were victorious, killing their general, Sir Charles Cavendish, with many more commanders, and some hundreds of soldiers;[1] and this was opportunely done, while my Lord New-

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[1] Cromwell writes, "I marched after the taking of Burleigh House upon Wednesday to Grantham, where I met about three hundred horse and dragooners from Nottingham; with these by agreement we met the Lincolners at North Scarle, which is about ten miles from Gainsborough, upon Thursday, in the evening."

The battle took place on Friday, July 28th, 1643. "The Lincoln troops had the van, two Northampton and three small troops of Nottingham the battle, and Colonel Cromwell the rear."—Carlyle's "Cromwell:" Cromwell's Twelfth Letter, and letter in Appendix V.

castle was hastening to come over the water and join them, who, by a bridge of boats, passed all his army over, and came near Gainsborough, just in a season to behold the rout of all his men. The parliament's forces expected he would have fallen upon them, and drew up in a body and faced him, but he advanced not; so they contented themselves to relieve Gainsborough, and made a very honourable retreat to Lincoln; but Gainsborough not being fortified, nor provided, this relief did not much advantage them, for my Lord Newcastle again besieged it, which was rendered to him, after eight days, upon conditions honourable for the defendants, though they were not performed by the besiegers; for all my Lord Willoughby's men were disarmed contrary to articles,[1] and with them, some of the Nottingham soldiers that had gone into the town to refresh themselves, and so were shut up with them, when my lord laid siege to it; the rest had gone to Lincoln. They had behaved themselves very well in the fight, when Captain White received a wound in his hand in the forlorn hope; Colonel Thornhagh, who had fought very gallantly, was taken prisoner, and after he was stripped of his arms and coat, a major of the enemy's, whom the colonel had slightly wounded in the fervour of the fight, came and basely wounded the colonel, being disarmed, so

[1] Particularly noticed by Whitelock.

that he left him for dead. But by the good providence of God, that wound, by which the enemy intended to give him death, gave him liberty; for coming to himself a little after his hurt, he crept into one of his own tenant's houses, and there had his wounds bound up, and found means to get to Lincoln, from whence all the forces that went from Nottingham dispersed into different services. Major Ireton quite left Colonel Thornhagh's regiment, and began an inseparable league with Colonel Cromwell, whose son-in-law he after was.[1] None of them could return to Nottingham, by reason of my Lord Newcastle's army, which lay between them and home.

And now it was time for them at Nottingham to expect my Lord Newcastle, which the governor made provision for with all the diligence that it was possible under so many difficulties and obstacles, which would to any one else have been discouragements; but he had so high a resolution that nothing conquered it. The townsmen, through discontent at the drawing out of the forces, whereby their houses, families, and estates were exposed, began to envy, then to hate the castle, as grieved that anything should be preserved when all could not; and indeed those who were more concerned in private interests than in the cause itself, had some

[1] Ireton married Bridget Cromwell on June 15, 1646.

reason, because the neighbourhood of the castle, when it was too weak to defend them, would endanger them. In this hate and discontent, all the soldiers being townsmen, except some of the governor's own company, they resolved they would not go into the castle to behold the ruin of their houses; little considering that when the governor first came into Nottingham to defend them, at their earnest desire, he left a house and a considerable estate to the mercy of the enemy, rather desiring to advance the cause than to secure his own stake; but their mean and half-affected hearts were not capable of such things. The governor, perceiving this defection, set some of the most zealous honest men to find out how many there were in the town who, neglecting all private interests, would cheerfully and freely come in and venture all with him; intending, if he could not have found enough to defend the place, that he would have sent to other neighbouring garrisons to have borrowed some. Upon this inquiry, it was found that many of Colonel Pierrepont's own company were desirous to come in, but first wished to know their colonel's resolution as to how he would dispose of them; whereupon a hall was called, and the danger of the place declared to the whole town, that they might have time to provide for their goods and persons before the enemy came upon them. The colonel being present, his company asked him what he

would advise them to do; to whom his answer was, "You have but three ways to choose, either leave the town and secure yourselves in some other parliament-garrisons, or list into the castle,[1] or stand on the works and have your throats cut." Two or three days after this he went to his mother's, and carried his children with part of his goods, and sent his wife to Sir Gervase Clifton's house. Notwithstanding this public resolution in the hall to his company, he told them, and many others in private, that he preferred the interest of the town above that of his life, and would expose his life for the good of it, and stand on the works of the town as long as they could be defended, and when they could no longer be kept, he would retire to some other parliament-garrison. Others he told, he scorned that his colours should serve in the castle; that if his company went up thither he would get him a new one, which should follow him wherever he went, and many more such

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[1] The particular account which has before been spoken of, has in this place a little difference of expression, which yet perhaps signifies much. There Colonel Pierrepont says, "List into the castle with *John*," for so in a jesting way he used to call Colonel Hutchinson, alluding no doubt to his frank and downright mode of speaking and acting.—J. H.

This question proves "the particular account" which the Rev. Julius Hutchinson had before him to be the Note-Book, at present in the British Museum.

things in private; but he openly, both to the governor and others, approved and encouraged their going into the castle. According to his advice, the townsmen, as they were diversely affected, disposed of themselves; the malignants all laid down their arms and stayed in the town; some honest and well affected, but not bold enough to stand the hazard, went to other parliament-garrisons and served there; others secured themselves, their goods, and families in the country; some enlisted into the castle; one Alderman Nix, captain of two hundred, gave up his commission; his men all disbanded except about forty, who came into the castle and filled up the broken companies there. At length, out of all the four companies and the whole town, about 300 men enlisted into the castle.

The governor had procured forty barrels of powder, and two thousand weight of match from London, and had increased the store of provision as much as the present poverty of their condition would permit him. Then the committee of Nottingham, so many of them as were remaining in the town, and all the ministers of the parliament's party there, came up to the castle, and, with the officers of the garrison, ate at the governor's, to his very great charge; considering that he was so far from receiving pay at that time, that all the money he could procure of his own credit, or take up with others, he was forced to dispend for the several

necessities of the soldiers and garrison; yet were the soldiers then, and a long time after, kept together as long as they could live, without any pay, and after paid part in victuals, and the rest run on in arrears.

The townsmen who came into the castle disposed their families into several villages in the country; and at length a trumpet was sent, for a safe-conduct for a gentleman, from my Lord Newcastle;[1] and having it, Major Cartwright came from him, with a summons for the delivery of the town and castle, to which the committee for the town, and the governor for the castle, returned a civil defiance in writing, about the 10th day of August. Cartwright, having received it, and being treated with wine by the governor and the rest of the officers, grew bold in the exercise of an abusive wit he had, and told both Mr. Hutchinsons that they were sprightly

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[1] "To the commander-in-chief and the rest of the gentlemen at Nottingham, these.

"GENTLEMEN,—I have received a message in writing from my Lord General with command to send it unto you, which I hold fit to do by a gentleman, and to that end I desire a safe-conduct for Major Cartwright, which not doubting of I shall rest,—Your servant, RICH. BIRON.

"NEWARK, this 6th of August, 1643."

This letter, which is copied in the Note-Book, was sent by a trumpet on August 7th. Major Cartwright's visit took place on August 9th.

young men, but when my lord should come with his army, he would find them in other terms, beseeching my lord to spare them, as misled young men, and to suffer them to march away with a cudgel, and "then," said he, "shall I stand behind my lord's chair and laugh."[1] At which the governor, being angry, told him he was much mistaken, for he scorned ever to yield on any terms, to a papistical army led by an atheistical general. Mr. George Hutchinson told him, "If my lord would have that poor castle he must wade to it in blood." Which words they say he told his general.[2] After these summonses were received, the governor drew all his soldiers into the castle, and committed the guard of the town to the aldermen, who were to set guards of fifty in a night, according to their wards. Then calling together his soldiers, he once again represented to them their condition, and told them, that being religious and honest men, he could be assured no extremity would make them fail in what they found themselves strong enough to undertake; and therefore he should not fear to let them freely understand their danger, which yet they had power to shun, and therefore whatever misery might be the issue of their undertaking, they could

[1] "Then will I hold up my finger at you and laugh."—Note-Book.

[2] The Note-Book gives also a message sent by the governor to Sir Roger Cooper. See Appendix.

not justly impute it to him, it being their own election. For after this summons they must expect the enemy, and to be reduced to the utmost extremity by them that thought could reach. It must not move them to see their houses flaming, and, if need were, themselves firing them for the public advantage, to see the pieces of their families cruelly abused and consumed before them; they must resolve upon hard duty, fierce assaults, poor and sparing diet, perhaps famine, and the want of all comfortable accommodations. Nor was there very apparent hope of relief at last, but more than common hazard of losing their lives, either in defence of their fort or of the place; which, for want of good fortifications, and through disadvantage of a neighbouring mount and building, was not, in human probability, tenable against such an army as threatened it. All which, for his own part, he was resolved on; and if any of them found his courage failing, he only desired they would provide for their safety in time elsewhere, and not prejudice him and the public interest so highly, as they would do, to take upon them the defence of the castle, except they could be content to lay down their lives and all their interests in it. The soldiers were none of them terrified at the dangers which threatened their undertaking; but at the latter end of August took, upon the solemn fast-day, the national covenant, and besides it, a particular mutual covenant between

them and the governor, to be faithful to each other, and to hold out the place to the death, without entertaining any parley, or accepting any terms from the enemy. This the governor was forced to do to confirm them, for he had his experience not only of the ungodly and ill-affected, but even of the godly themselves, who thought it scarcely possible for any one to continue a gentleman, and firm to a godly interest, and therefore repaid all his vigilancy and labours for them with a very unjust jealousy. The governor of Newark was his cousin-german, to whom he was forced, against his nature, to be more uncivil than to any others that were governors in that place. Whether it were that the dissension of brethren is always most spitefully pursued, or that Sir Richard Biron, as it was reported, suffered under the same suspicions on his side, it is true they were to each other the most uncivil enemies that can be imagined. After this summons, my Lord Newcastle came not, according to their bravadoes, but diverted his army to Hull, to besiege my Lord Fairfax there; they of Newark having gotten him to send this summons upon confidence, knowing the condition of the place, that it would have been yielded to a piece of paper. The governor immediately set upon the fortification of his castle, made a work behind it, another on the Line side, turned the dovecote into a platform, and made a court of guard in Mortimer's Hole.

At this time Sir Thomas Hutchinson died in London,[1] and gave all his personal estate, and all that was unsettled at Mr. Hutchinson's marriage, to his second wife and her children;[2] at which his two sons had not the least repining thought, but out of tender love, were very much afflicted for his loss, and procured a pass from Newark for Mr. George Hutchinson, to go to London, to visit his mother and fetch mournings, which accordingly he did; and upon a letter the committee sent up by him,[3] he brought down an order of parliament to allow a table to the governor and committee, whom Mr. Hutchinson had till that time entertained at his own cost, with all the officers of the garrison and the ministers, which were no small charge to him; who he had a noble heart, and could not basely

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[1] August 18, 1643, as appeared by his tombstone, under the communion table in St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London, and that he was 55 when he died.—J. H.

A marginal note, written by Julius Hutchinson, grandfather of the editor.

[2] The estate was much impaired by the war, for on November 17, 1645, the House of Commons resolved "that the Lady Catherine Hutchinson, widow of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, late a member of this house, who hath lost all and been ruined by the king's forces, for her great and constant affections to the parliament, shall have four pounds allowed to her weekly for her present support out of the king's revenue."—Journals of the House of Commons.

[3] The letter is dated August 26, 1643, *vide* Appendix.

evade the expense, which that place necessarily drew upon him, not only by the constant entertainment of the committee, officers, and ministers, and all parliament officers, that came and went through the garrison, but by relieving the poor soldiers, who had such short pay, that they were, for the most part, thirty weeks and more behind; and when they marched out at any time, the governor would not suffer them to take a cup of drink, unpaid for, in the country, but always, wherever they took any refreshment in their marches, paid it himself. He besides gave them much from his own house, especially when any of them were sick or wounded, and lent money to those who were most necessitous. All this run him into a great private debt, besides many thousands of pounds, which he engaged himself in with other gentlemen, and taken up for the supply of the garrison and carrying on of the public service. Although the allowance for his table was much envied by those mean fellows, that never knew what the expense of a table was, and although it was to him some ease, yet it did not defray the third part of his expense in the service, being but ten pounds a week allowed by the state; and his expenses all that time, only in the public service, and not at all in any particular of his own family, being, as it was kept upon account, above fifteen hundred pounds a year. As soon as his father was dead, and rents became due to him, the enemies, in

the midst of whom his estate lay, fetched in his tenants and imprisoned them, and took his rents; his estate was begged and promised by the king; those who lived not upon the place, flung up his grounds, and they lay unoccupied, while the enemy prevailed in the country. He was not so cruel as others were to their tenants, who made them pay over again those rents which the enemy forced them to redeem themselves out of prison withal, but lost the most part of his rents, all the while the country was under the adverse power. He had some small stock of his own plundered, and his house, by the perpetual haunting of the enemy, defaced, and for want of inhabitation, rendered almost uninhabitable. For these things he had some subscriptions,[1] but

[1] By subscriptions are here meant acknowledgments or certificates given by the committees, which parliament professed to make good, but many times did not. But Colonel Hutchinson's disinterestedness and devotion to the cause did not suffice to exempt him from calumny, for in Walker's "History of Independency," p. 166, *et seq.*, a list is given of members of parliament, who were unduly returned, who held commands contrary to the self-denying ordinance, or had moneys or offices given them. And Colonel Hutchinson is accused of all *three*; how absurdly and unjustly every one must perceive. He was regularly elected to parliament in place of his father deceased: he had a regiment which he raised, and in a great degree subsisted himself; he had a government, which at the time of his undertaking it, was a charge others feared to accept, and which for a long time

never received one penny of recompense; and his arrears of pay, which he received after all the war was done, did not half pay the debts those services contracted. But when he undertook this engagement, it was for the defence of his country's and God's cause, and he offered himself and all he had a willing sacrifice in the service; and rather praised God for what was saved, than repined at what was spent, it being above his expectation, that deliverance which God gave him out of his enemies' hands. He might have made many advantages by the spoil of his enemies, which was often brought in, and by other encroachments upon the country, which almost all the governors, on both sides, exacted everywhere else, but his heart abhorred it: all prize the soldiers had, and he never shared with them; all the malignants' goods the committee disposed of; and it ever grieved his heart to see the spoil of his neighbours, how justly soever they deserved it; but he chose all loss, rather than to make up himself[1] by violence and rapine. If in a judicial way, he was forced at any time, in discharge

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was a loss and a detriment to him, and at the end of all he fell far short of receiving as much as he had expended. In the same place, Mr. William Pierrepont is most invidiously accused of getting £40,000—*but how? it was the personal estate of his own father!*—J. H.

[1] Make himself up, make himself whole, reimburse himself.—J. H.

of his trust, to sign any harsh orders against any of the gentlemen of the country, it was with grief that they should deserve that severity; but this testimony is a truth of him, that in his whole actings in this cause, he never prosecuted any private lust, either of revenge, ambition, avarice, or vain glory, under a public vizard, but was most truly public-spirited. Conscience to God, and truth and righteousness, according to the best information he could get, engaged him in that party he took; that which engaged him, carried him through all along, though he encountered no less difficulties and contradictions from those of his own party, that were not of the same spirit he was, than from his enemies.

The death of Sir Thomas Hutchinson made every way a great reverse in the affairs of his eldest son, who had before been looked upon as his father's heir, and reverenced as much, or rather more, upon his father's score, than his own, so that no man durst attempt to injure him, whom they looked upon as under such a powerful protection. Sir Thomas and his fathers before him had ever deserved very well of their country, and, as lovers of their country, their neighbours had an implicit faith in all their dictates and actions, insomuch that Sir Thomas Hutchinson's single authority swayed with many, more than all the greater names of the country. But he at his death having divided, all

things considered, his estate between the children of his two wives, though it be true the latter deserved more than they had, yet it is as true the first deserved not to be so much lessened as they were: and Mr. Hutchinson having been known to be the most pious and obedient son, from his childhood, that ever any father was blessed in, when it came to be known that his father had given away all that was in his power to give from him, those that had a great reverence and esteem for Sir Thomas would not believe him to be so defective in justice as to do this without some secret cause; and therefore it was given out that he was displeased with his son's engagement, and for that cause disposed away so much of his estate from them. But that was not so; indeed, at the time of his death the parliament's interest was so low, that he might well look upon them as lost persons, and so what he gave away to the unengaged infant he might well look upon as all that could be preserved. Mr. Hutchinson had only an allowance from his father, while he lived, which was duly paid him; but as soon as he died all his estate was seized by the enemy, who had so much desire not to injure publicly a person so popular, that they disturbed not Sir Thomas his tenants while he lived, though he continued with the parliament, and faithful to their interest; because he was moderate, and one that applied all his endeavours

to peace, which he did not out of policy, but out of conscience to his country, and by a wise foresight of the sad consequences of a conquest by either side; for he hath often expressed, that accommodation was far more desirable than war, and he dreaded that the spirits of those men would become most insolent after conquest, who were so violently bent to prosecute a war; that some of them whom we have since known to be vile apostates, then professed they abhorred accommodation. This report of Sir Thomas his dislike of his son's engagement was raised and dispersed by those who themselves were ill-affected to it; but, however, it abated all the respect men had for him, upon any account but his own. Those who had entertained a secret envy of him, now feared not to manifest it, and began to work secret mines, to blow him up on all sides; but God was with him, and disappointed all his enemies, and made his virtues more illustrious by the oppositions they encountered, and by the removal of all those props of wealth and power which are necessary to hold up weaker fabrics.[1]

[1] Here is in the original a marginal note in the following words: "The division of Sir Thomas Hutchinson's estate. Sir Thomas Hutchinson being mightily beloved in the country, and a moderate man, using all his endeavours for peace, his estate was never plundered in his lifetime; and though it is here falsely insinuated that he approved of his

Soon after the death of his father, one Mr. Ayscough, a gentleman of the country, allied to Sir Richard, since Lord Biron, then governor of Newark, came to the governor of Nottingham, and told him that Sir Richard Biron, out of that tender, natural affection which he ever had for him, and still preserved, desired him now to consider his wife and children, and the loss of his whole estate, which was inevitable, if he persisted in the engagement he was in; that some had already been suing to the Earl of Newcastle for it; but if he would return to his obedience to the king, he might not only preserve his estate, but have

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son's conduct in taking arms against the king, it is most true that he was extremely afflicted at it, being altogether for peace, and condemned such rash counsels as arms on both sides; and the miseries he saw his king and country involved in were certainly the occasion of his death: and though Sir Thomas Hutchinson sat longer in the house than many honest men, it was only in hopes by his moderate counsels to effect a happy peace between his king and country. All this I have heard attested by his lady and relict, my grandmother. Teste J. Hutchinson." This is that testimony of Lady Katharine Hutchinson which was spoken of in the preface, and which, in attempting to impeach the veracity of the author in a single point, contributes largely to corroborate it in all. In the very instance before us there seems much more reason for the opinion of Mrs. Hutchinson than of Lady Katharine: Sir Thomas Hutchinson had before been imprisoned for his opposition to the court; was in this parliament on all committees for

what reward he pleased to propound for so doing. To which the governor telling him this was a thing he ought to scorn, Mr. Ayscough told him that Sir Richard had, only out of love and tender compassion to him, given him this employment, with many protestations how much Sir Richard desired to employ all his interest to save him, if it were possible, and therefore begged of him that if he would still persist in this party, that he would yet quit himself of this garrison, and go into my Lord of Essex's army; for there, he said, Sir Richard would find pretence to save his rents for him for the present, and his estate for the future; for, said

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the reform of religion; sat with the parliament after the war was deeply engaged in; sent his sons arms, and promoted their desires to the parliament: it is incredible that he should have any great objection to the part they took, other than the general one of regretting that arms were taken on either side. The most probable thing is that this lady, being of the same party and opinion as her brother and family, and jealous of Sir Thomas Hutchinson's children by his former wife, influenced him to their disadvantage in the making of his will, and set up these reasons to countenance it after his death. The other estates of Sir T. Hutchinson in Nottinghamshire were fully equal, if not superior, in value to that of Owthorpe. This being the only instance wherein the truth of the narrative is called in question, and this certainly invidiously, if not unjustly, we may safely say we have the testimony of an adversary in our favour to all the rest.—J. H.

he, he can plead, "you were an inconsiderate young man, rashly engaged, and dares assure himself to beg your pardon; but to keep a castle against your king is a rebellion of so high a nature, that there will be no colour left to ask favour for you." The governor told him he should deliver the same propositions, and receive his answer, before some witnesses; whereupon he carried the gentleman to two of the committee,[1] before whom he repeated his message, and the governor bade him return Sir Richard this answer, "That except he found his own heart prone to such treachery, he might consider there was, if nothing else, so much of a Biron's blood in him, that he should very much scorn to betray or quit a trust he had undertaken; but the grounds he went on were such, that he very much despised such a thought as to sell his faith for base rewards or fears, and therefore could not consider the loss of his estate, which his wife was as willing to part with as himself in this cause, wherein he was resolved to persist, in the same place in which it had pleased God to call him to the defence of it."

About this time a woman was taken, whereof the committee had before been informed that she carried intelligence between Colonel Pierrepont and his mother, the countess of Kingston. The woman

[1] Mr. Salusbury and Mr. Widmerpoole.

was now going through Nottingham, with letters from the old countess to her daughter-in-law, the colonel's wife, who was then at Clifton, Sir Gervas Clifton's house. In this packet there was a letter drawn, which the countess advised her daughter to sign, to be sent to Colonel Stanton, one of the king's colonels, to entreat back from him some goods of her husband's, which he had plundered; wherein there were these expressions: "That though her husband was unfortunately engaged in the unhappy rebellion, she hoped ere long he would approve himself a loyal subject to his majesty." The committee having read these letters, sealed them up again, and enclosed them in another to the colonel, then at Derby, telling him, that having intercepted such letters, and not knowing whether his wife might follow her mother's advice, which if she should would prove very dishonourable to him, they had chosen rather to send the letters to him than to her. The colonel was vexed that they had opened them, but for the present took no notice of it. All the horse having been drawn out of Nottingham to the relief of Gainsborough, and the Newarkers, knowing that the garrison was utterly destitute, plundered all the country even to the walls of Nottingham; upon which some godly men offered themselves to bring in their horses, and form a troop for the defence of the country, and one Mr. Palmer, a minister, had a commission

to be their captain.[1] This man had a bold, ready, earnest way of preaching, and lived holily and regularly as to outward conversation, whereby he got a great reputation among the godly; and this reputation swelled his spirit, which was very vainglorious, covetous, contentious, and ambitious. He had so insinuated himself as to make these godly men desire him for their captain, which he had more vehement longing after than they, yet would have it believed that it was rather pressed upon him, than he pressed into it; and therefore being at that time in the castle with his family, and feeding at the governor's table, who gave him room in his own lodgings, and all imaginable respect, he came to the governor and his wife, telling them that these honest people pressed him very much to be their captain, and desiring their friendly and Christian advice whether he should accept or refuse it. They freely told him, that having entered into

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[1] The Thomason Collection in the British Museum contains a sermon by Mr. Palmer.

"St. Paul's Politiques, a sermon against neutrality, preached at Margaret's, Westminster, on the Lord's Day, December 18, 1644, divers of the honourable House of Commons being present. By Laurence Palmer, Rector of the mediety of Gedling, in the county of Nottingham, and captain of a troop of horse raised for the service of the king and parliament." The text is Phil. ii. 4, and the sermon is dedicated to Gilbert Millington.

a charge of another kind, they thought it not fit for him to engage in this; and that he might as much advance the public service, and satisfy the men, in marching with them in the nature of a chaplain as in that of a captain. He, that asked not counsel to take any contrary to his first resolve, went away confused when he found he was not advised as he would have been, and said he would endeavour to persuade them to be content; and afterwards said, they would not be otherwise satisfied, and so he was forced to accept the commission. The governor, having only declared his own judgment when he was asked, as a Christian ought to do according to his conscience, left the captain to act according to his own, and censured him not, but entertained him with the same freedom and kindness he had done before; but the man, being guilty of the avarice and ambition of his own heart, never afterwards looked upon the governor with a clear eye, but sought to blow up all factions against him whenever he found opportunity, and in the meantime dissembled it as well as he could. And now, before his troop was well raised, Colonel Thornhagh being recovered, brought back his troop from Lincoln, and both the troops quartered in the town, which being a bait to invite the enemy, the governor gave charge to all that belonged to the castle, being about three hundred men, that they should not upon any pretence whatever be out of their

quarters; but they having, many of them, wives and better accommodations in the town, by stealth disobeyed his commands, and seldom left any more in the castle than what were upon the guard.

The townsmen were every night out upon the guard of the town, according to the wards of the aldermen; but the most of them being disaffected, the governor, fearing treachery, had determined to quarter the horse in those lanes which were next to the castle, and to block up the lanes for the better securing them. Just the night before these lanes should have been blocked up, Alderman Toplady, a great malignant, having the watch, the enemy was, by treachery, let into the town, and no alarum given to the castle. Though there were two muskets at the gate where they entered, both of them were surrendered without one shot to give notice; and all the horse, and about two parts of the castle soldiers, betrayed, surprised, and seized on in their beds, but there were not above fourscore of the castle foot taken; the rest hid themselves, and privately stole away, some into the country, some by night came up to the castle and got in, in disguises, by the river side; but the cavaliers were possessed of the town, and no notice at all given to the castle. When, at the beating of reveille, some of the soldiers, that had been on the watch all night, were going down into the town to refresh themselves, they were no sooner out of the

castle gates but some of the enemy's musketeers discharged upon them, and they hasting back, got in with such care that the enemy was prevented of their design of falling in with them. They brought a strong alarum into the castle, when the governor coming forth, was exceedingly vexed to find that his men were, so many of them, contrary to his command, wanting in their quarters; but it was no time to be angry, but to apply himself to do what was possible to preserve the place; wherefore he immediately despatched messengers by a private sally-port to Leicester and Derby, to desire their assistance, either to come and help to beat the enemy out of the town, or to lend him some foot to help keep the castle, in which there was but fourscore men, and never a lieutenant nor any head officer but his brother, nor so much as a surgeon among them. As soon as the governor had despatched his messengers he went up to the towers, and from thence played his ordnance into the town, which seldom failed of execution upon the enemy; but there was an old church, called St. Nicholas Church, whose steeple so commanded the platform that the men could not play the ordnance without woolpacks before them. From this church the bullets played so thick into the outward castle-yard, that they could not pass from one gate to the other, nor relieve the guards, but with very great hazard; and one weak old man was shot the first

day, who, for want of a surgeon, bled to death before they could carry him up to the governor's wife, who at that time supplied that want as well as she could; but at night the governor and his men dug a trench between the two gates, through which they afterwards better secured their passage. In the meantime the cavaliers that came from Newark, being about six hundred, fell to ransack and plunder all the honest men's houses in the town, and the cavaliers of the town, who had called them in, helped them in this work. Their prisoners they at first put into the sheep-pens in the market-place,[1] whereupon an honest townsman, seeing four or five commanders go into his own house, procured a cunning boy that came by him, while the enemy regarded more their plunder than their prisoners, to run privately up to the castle and give them notice, who presently sent a cannon bullet into the house. The cavaliers called in all the country as soon as they were in the town, and made a fort at the Trent bridges, and thither they carried down all their considerable plunder and prisoners. The next day after Sir Richard Biron had surprised the town, Mr. Hastings, since made lord of Loughborough, then governor of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, came

[1] It appears, by Deering's account of Nottingham, that these once occupied a considerable portion of the market-place.—J. H.

with a body of about four hundred men; but being displeased that the plunder was begun before he came, he returned again and left the Newark gentlemen to themselves; who, as they made a fort at the bridges, threw down the half moons and bulwarks that had been raised about the town. They stayed five days, but very unquietly, for the cannon and muskets from the castle failed not of execution daily upon many of them, and they durst not in all that time go to bed. The third day Major Cartwright sent a letter, desiring the governor or his brother to come and meet him in St. Nicholas' church, and promised them safe passage and return; but the governor read the letter to his soldiers, and commanded a red flag to be set upon the tower to bid them defiance, and shot three pieces of cannon at the steeple in answer to his desired parley.

Five days the enemy stayed in the town, and all that time the governor and his soldiers were none of them off from the guard, but if they slept, which they never did in the night, it was by them that watched.[1] At length, on Saturday, September 23d, in the afternoon, the governor saw a great many goods and persons going over the Line bridge,

[1] "During the time of the enemy's stay in the town many of those men that lay hid came in the night by the Line side, in women's apparel and other disguises, up to the castle, so that by Saturday there were about eight-score come."—Note-Book.

and not knowing what it meant, sent some cannon bullets after them; when on the other side of the town he discerned a body of men, whom he knew not at first, whether to be friends or foes, but having at that time about eightscore men in the castle, for in that five days' space fourscore were come in by stealth, he caused them all to be drawn out in the castle-yard, and perceiving that those he last saw were friends, he sent out his brother, Major Hutchinson, with all the musketeers that could be spared, to help drive the enemy out of the town. They having effected what they came for, in fortifying the bridges, had nothing more to do but to get safe off, which they endeavoured with more haste and disorder than became good and stout soldiers. When Major Hutchinson came into the town with his men, they, greedy of knowing what was become of their wives and houses, dropped so fast from behind him to make the inquiry, that they had left him only in the head of sixteen men, when Sir Richard Biron, with Captain Hacker, followed by a whole troop of horse and a foot company, came upon him. The major commanded his men to charge them, which they did, but shot over; yet falling in with them pell-mell, they had gotten Sir Richard Biron down, and they had his hat, but he escaped, though his horse was so wounded that it fell dead in the next street.[1]

[1] Major Hutchinson did not allow his cousinship to pre-

These men that came to the governor's relief were Captain White with his troop, who were quartered at Leicester, in his return from Lincolnshire, from whence he was coming back to Nottingham, and at Leicester met the messenger the governor had sent for assistance, which he prosecuted so, that from the two garrisons of Leicester and Derby, with his own troop, he brought about four hundred men.[1] As soon as they were

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vent him telling his men to take or shoot Sir Richard Biron; he also bade them "not to let him scape though they cut his legs off."—Note-Book.

[1] "A while after news came that the enemy had entered the town, and had besieged the castle; the governor with the committee did most earnestly send unto Colonel Gell, that he would with all speed send them assistance, otherwise the castle would be taken, because most of their soldiers were in the town, and many an honest man would so be starved, who had privily hid themselves. Sir John presently made ready all the strength he could, and got together all the horses in the country, and horsed some five hundred musketeers, with the assistance of two or three troops at Leicester, and so with all that strength marched to Nottingham, Major Mollanus being commander-in-chief. The enemy was then at least five or six hundred in Nottingham town, horse and foot, and stood all in battalio in the market-place, and all our forces were not five hundred. The said Major Mollanus, with Captain Hacker, now Colonel Hacker, entered the town with their horse, were presently beaten back, lost four or five horses; instantly after the said Major broke through the enemy and brought in the

come into the town, Sir John Gell's men, seeing the cavaliers had a mind to be gone, interrupted them not, but being as dexterous at plunder as at fight, they presently went to Toplady's house, who had betrayed the town, and plundered it and some others, while the governor's soldiers were busy in clearing the town of the enemy. When they had done this, the governor did what he could to restrain the plunder; but the truth is, Gell's men were nimble youths at that work, yet there was not very much mischief done by them. Toplady's house fared the worst, but his neighbours saved much of his goods; he himself, with several other townsmen and countrymen, who had been very active against the well-affected, at this time were brought up prisoners to the castle. There were not above five-and-twenty of the Newark soldiers taken; how many were slain at their going off, and during the time of their stay, we could not certainly tell, because

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dragoons, and entered the town again, and drove the enemy before them, many of them slain, and one hundred and sixty three taken prisoners, but one man of our side slain, which was one Captain-lieutenant Lenerick, who led Colonel Gell's own troop, three men wounded, and some five or six horses killed. We relieved at the same time at least four hundred townsmen and soldiers of the castle, who were almost famished. The remainder of the enemy fled to Nottingham bridge, which they were then fortifying."—Gell's "True Relation," Glover's Derbyshire, vol. i., Appendix, p. 65.

they had means of carrying them off by the bridge, where they left Captain Hacker governor[1] of their new fort with fourscore men. Their prisoners and plunder they sent away in boats to Newark; many of the townsmen went with them, carrying away not only their own but their neighbours' goods; and much more had been carried away, but that the unexpected sally from the castle prevented them. Dr. Plumptre, one of the committee of Nottingham, whom they found prisoner at the marshal's house in the town, and released, went out of the town with them. This man, when he had provoked the governor to strike him, for his malicious and uncivil railings against him for the respect he showed to the godly men of the town, had retired to the house of a malignant gentleman in arms against the parliament; had received a protection from the governor of Newark, and had divers meetings with the Newark officers; yet after all this had the impudence to come into the town of Nottingham: and in all the taverns and ale-houses he came into, to

[1] The brother of Colonel Hacker, who was tried, condemned, and executed for attending the execution of Charles the First. This brother, who served the king during the whole war with great zeal, could not obtain the pardon of Colonel Hacker, nor prevent the confiscation of his family estate, which was granted to the Duke of York, the king's brother, from whom he was obliged to ransom it at a high rate. It lay at Colston Basset, joining to Owthorpe.—J. H.

belch out abominable scoffs and taunts against the governor and the committee-men, before Colonel Thornhagh's face, who commanded him out of the room for it; and upon information of these things to the governor and the committee, he was sent for by some musketeers, and the enemy's protection for himself and his goods being found about him, he was committed prisoner, but there being no good accommodation for him in the castle, the governor, in more civility than he deserved, suffered him to be in the town, whence he went with them, and afterwards retired to Derby.[1] At the same time, the cavaliers having taken some prisoners upon the parliament's score who lived quietly in the country, the committee had fetched in some gentlemen's sons of their party, who were left at their fathers' houses; whereof one was remaining at the marshal's house when the cavaliers came into the town, whom the governor suffered to be there upon his parole, there being no good accommodation for him in the castle Him the cavaliers would have had to have gone away with them, but he would not; which handsome behaviour so pleased the governor, that he freely gave him his liberty without exchange.

[1] "When they went out of the town he also went out with them, and as he passed by Sir Thomas Hutchinson's house bade Mrs. Cotton, with most nasty uncivil term, tell that proud Hutchinson that in spite of his teeth he was now free."—Note-Book.

As soon as the enemy was driven out of the town, the governor brought down two pieces of ordnance to the market-place, and entreated the soldiers that were come from Leicester and Derby to march with him immediately, to assault them in their fort at the bridges, before they had time to put themselves in order, and recollect their confused souls, after their chase; but the major of Derby, an old dull-headed Dutchman, said ten thousand men could not do it, and could by no means be entreated to go on, nor to stay one day longer, but to stand by, while the governor made the attempt, with his own men. He, when he saw he could not prevail, thought it not convenient, at that time, to urge his men beyond their power, after they had had a week of such sore labour, and so, much discontented that he could not effect his desire, he drew back his ordnance into the castle. Here his women, while the men were all otherwise employed, had provided him as large a supper as the time and present condition would permit, at which he entertained all the strangers, and his own officers and gentlemen.

There was a large room, which was the chapel, in the castle: this they had filled full of prisoners, besides a very bad prison, which was no better than a dungeon, called the Lion's Den; and the new Captain Palmer, and another minister, having nothing else to do, walked up and down the castleyard,

insulting and beating the poor prisoners as they were brought up. In the encounter, one of the Derby captains was slain, and five of our men hurt, who for want of another surgeon, were brought to the governor's wife, and she having some excellent balsams and plasters in her closet, with the assistance of a gentleman that had some skill, dressed all their wounds, whereof some were dangerous, being all shots, with such good success, that they were all well cured in convenient time.[1] After our wounded men were dressed, as she stood at her chamber-door, seeing three of the prisoners sorely cut, and carried down bleeding into the Lion's Den, she desired the marshal to bring them in to her, and bound up and dressed their wounds also: which while she was doing, Captain Palmer came in and told her his soul abhorred to see this favour to the enemies of God; she replied, she had done nothing but what she thought was her duty,

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[1] The reader will remember that the mother of Mrs. Hutchinson had patronised and assisted Sir Walter Raleigh, when prisoner in the Tower, in his chemical experiments, and had acquired a little knowledge of medicine; whether her daughter had obtained instructions from her mother, or the mother herself was here (for she passed the latter part of her life with her daughter, and died in her house at Owthorpe), is uncertain. Mrs. Hutchinson was certainly an extraordinary woman, and this is not one of the least singular, nor least amiable instances of it.—J. H.

in humanity to them, as fellow-creatures, not as enemies. But he was very ill satisfied with her, and with the governor presently after, when he came into a very large room where a very great supper was prepared, and more room and meat than guests; to fill up which the governor had sent for one Mr. Mason, one of the prisoners, a man of good fashion, who had married a relation of his, and was brought up more in fury, than for any proof of guilt in him, and I know not whither two or three others the governor had called to meet with them; for which Captain Palmer bellowed loudly against him, as a favourer of malignants and cavaliers. Who could have thought this godly, zealous man, who could scarce eat his supper for grief to see the enemies of God thus favoured, should have afterwards entered into a conspiracy, against the governor, with those very same persons, who now so much provoked his zeal? But the governor took no notice of it, though he set the very soldiers a muttering against himself and his wife, for these poor humanities.

The next day the neighbour forces returned home. Colonel Thornhagh having lost most of his troop, went to London to get another. Captain White stayed at Nottingham with his, where intelligence being given that the cavaliers intended to possess themselves of Broxtowe and Woollerton (two gentlemen's houses within two miles apiece of

Nottingham), Captain Palmer was sent, with the remainder of his men, to keep Broxtowe-house, and the governor's captain-lieutenant,[1] with his company, to Woollerton. The governor, at Nottingham, broke up the Line Bridge to prevent the cavaliers coming suddenly by that way into the town; then he blocked up the lanes next the castle, and cut up all the hedges, that were dangerous to make approaches to the castle; and having the experience of the mischief of it, pulled down St. Nicholas' church by the advice of the committee.[2]

Presently after the cavaliers were gone out of town, some naughty people, set on by them, fired the town, but it was quenched without burning above two or three houses; yet for a fortnight together it was perpetually attempted, fire being laid to hay-barns and other combustible places, insomuch that the women were forced to walk fifty in a night to prevent the burning; which the committee perceiving to be attempted by the instigation of the Newark gentlemen, they wrote them word, that if they forbade not their instruments, if so much as one house were fired, they would fire all the cavaliers'

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[1] Captain-lieutenant Dolphin.—Note-Book.

[2] It is said, in Deering's "History of Nottingham," that this church was pulled down by Colonel Hutchinson, and the bells carried to Owthorpe; which last was at that time impossible, the enemy being in possession of the Vale of Belvoir and the ways to it. And moreover, the church at

houses near them. The gentlemen returned them a scornful letter, full of taunts and disdain, but after that no more houses were attempted with fire.[1]

The Derby soldiers, when they returned home, being asked why they left the cavaliers at the bridges unassaulted, made answer, they would have beaten them out, but the governor would not lend them a piece of ordnance out of his castle; which false report, when the governor heard, piqued him heartily, being so notorious a lie; for he drew down two pieces of ordnance, and could not entreat them to do more than stand by, while he attempted it with his own men; but their Major Molanus, being an old soldier, discouraged our soldiers, and told

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Owthorpe was, as Deering in another place observes, too small to contain them. In Throsby's edition of Thoroton, he remarks that neither Deering nor Thoroton were properly acquainted with the circumstances of that affair, and mentions, that in digging near the foundation of the present tower (for the church has been rebuilt), a bell was found, evidently broken to pieces at the demolition of the church; probably by the cannon-shot which was sent in answer to Major Cartwright's message. The situation of this church was both very near to the castle, and on a parallel height. —J. H.

The Note-Book gives an additional detail or two: "the lofts were fired and the walls undermined, that it might fall more speedily."

[1] The Note-Book describes the letter as "a quibbling answer, in which they utterly disclaimed having any hand in the fire."

them it was a vain and impossible attempt. For this cause, the governor resolved he would set upon it alone, whenever it was seasonable; and watching an opportunity, he soon took it, at a time when intelligence was brought him that all the forces Newark could send forth, were gone upon a design into Lincolnshire. Then, on the Lord's day, under colour of hearing a sermon at the great church in the town, he went thither, and after sermon, from the steeple took a view of the fort at the bridges; no one perceiving his design but his engineer, who was with him, and took a full survey of Hacker's works. Then, after supper, he called the committee together, and communicated his intentions to them, which they approved of. So all that night he spent in preparations against the next morning; he sent away orders to the horse and foot that lay at Broxtowe[1] to come to him in the morning by eight o'clock, with all the pioneers they could gather up in the country; he sent into the town, and caused all the pioneers there to be brought up, under pretence of making a breastwork before the castle-gates, and pretending to set them upon the platforms, caused all the cannon-baskets to be filled, which he intended for rolling trenches. All things, betimes in the morning, being gotten into perfect readiness,

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[1] "The horse that were in Broxtowe, and a foot company that lay in Wollerton House."—Note-Book.

and so discreetly ordered, that the enemy had no notice from any of their friends in town, nor knew anything of the design, till it was ready; the governor, about eleven o'clock on Monday morning, marched out, although the weather at that time, being very tempestuous and rainy, seemed to have combined with his enemies and withstood the attempt; but the soldiers were rather animated than discouraged, thinking that difficulties, after they were vanquished, would increase their glory. So when the ugly storm had, for three or four hours, wasted itself in its fury on them, it fell at their feet, and no more envious clouds obscured the cheerful face of heaven, so long as they continued in the field. The governor's own company marched through the meadows, and gave the alarm to the enemy's foot, while Mr. George Hutchinson's company went through the lanes, to gain a nook, which was very advantageous for the approaches of our men, and of which they easily possessed themselves, and then advancing, planted their colours within musket-shot of the fort. Although they planted so many colours, the governor had but eightscore foot, and a hundred horse, in all that went with him out of the castle, but he set the pioneers fairly among them to make the better show.

When the colours were thus planted, the pioneers were set at work to cast up a breastwork; and being left in a safe posture with the inferior officers,

the governor and his brother went up to the castle, to order the drawing down of the ordnance. Meanwhile the cavaliers sallied out of their fort to gain the colours, at whose approach all the pioneers ran away from their works; but the soldiers kept their ground and their colours, and beat back the enemy into their own fort, killing some of them, whereof two were left dead before our men, whom they thought it not safe to carry off. Our horse meeting the flying pioneers, brought them back again to their works, which they continued all that day, and the cavaliers attempted no more sallies. At evening the ordnance were brought down and planted within musket-shot of the fort, and then the governor despatched a messenger to Derby to tell Sir John Gell, if he pleased to send any of his men, they might come and see the fort taken. Accordingly, on Tuesday the Dutch major came, with about sixscore foot and dragoons.[1]

[1] In Gell's two narratives a larger amount of credit is claimed for the Derbyshire forces. "Within ten days after, the committee of Nottingham again sent to Colonel Gell, that he might needs send them present aid and assistance to beat the enemy from the bridge, otherwise they would be so restrained, that they would not be able to keep the castle; the enemy possessing the bridge, the castle was to no effect. Colonel Gell presently commanded between three and four hundred horse and dragoons to march to Nottingham and assist them, whereof Major Mollanus was chief commander; and thither went and drove the enemy away, so that it will

Hard by the fort at the bridges, and at that side which our men approached, there were two houses full of coals, into which, if the cavaliers had put any men, they might have done much mischief to the assailants; wherefore the governor sent two or three soldiers, who very boldly went almost under their works and fired them both, by the light of which, burning all night, the governor's men wrought all that night in their trenches, and cut a trench in the meadows, some of them calling to the cavaliers in the fort, and keeping them in abusive replies, one upon another, while the pioneers carried on their works. The governor and his brother, and all the other officers, continuing all night in the trenches with them, they behaved themselves so cheerfully, that the governor gave them the next morning twenty pounds; and they had very good drink and provisions brought them out of the garrison, which much encouraged them, but the gover-

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be adjudged by any council of war, that Nottingham town and castle had been long since in the enemy's possession, had they not had the assistance of Sir John Gell in driving the enemy from them at every time of need, as the colonels and committee of Nottingham did ever acknowledge." In Gell's second narrative it is said "after some time we beat the enemy from the bridge, which was of such importance that the governor of the castle professed to Major Mollanus, that unless our soldiers would stay and take the bridge, he would quit the castle, let the parliament do with him what they would."

nor's presence and alacrity among them much more. When the Derby men came on Tuesday, the Dutch major came down to the trenches, and told the governor that he wondered he would attempt the fort, for it was impregnable, and therefore much dissuaded him from going on, and said that he and his men would return. The governor told him that he and the soldiers with him were resolved to leave their lives rather than their attempt; and if they failed for want of seconding by that force which was sent with him to their assistance, let the blame lie on him. When the Derby officers saw him so resolute to persist, they, after much dissuasion and dispute, determined to stay, and the officers went up with the governor to supper in the castle, and the soldiers to quarters provided for them in the town; but after supper, the governor went down again, and stayed all night in the trenches with his men, and left them not as long as they stayed there, but only to fetch down what was necessary for them. He, his brother, and all the officers, were every night with them, and made them continue their custom of railing at each other in the dark, while they carried on their approaches. There was in the Trent, a little piece of ground of which, by damming up the water, the cavaliers had made an island; and while some of the soldiers held them in talk, others on Wednesday night cut the sluice, and by break of day on Thursday morn-

ing had pitched two colours in the island, within carbine-shot of the fort, and the governor's company had as much advanced their approach on the other side. When they in the fort saw, in the morning, how the assailants had advanced, while they were kept secure in talk all the night, they were extremely mad, and swore like devils, which made the governor and his men great sport: and then it was believed they in the fort began to think of flight; which the besiegers not expecting, still continued their approaches, and that day got forty yards nearer to the island and also to the other side. Although Sir John Gell's men came but on Tuesday, on Thursday the second messenger came from him, to call them back. The governor entreated them to stay that night and keep the trenches, while his men refreshed themselves: which they did, but his men would not go out of their trenches, but slept there to fit themselves for the assault, which the governor had resolved on for the morning, and for that purpose, after he had left them with all things provided in their trenches, he went to the castle to see the fire-balls and other necessaries for the assault brought down, and at three in the morning came to them, when the soldiers told him the cavaliers in the fort had for two hours left off shooting. He sent some soldiers then to the work sides to discover what this meant; but they, perceiving the place empty, went in and found that

all the garrison had stolen away, and had left behind them fourscore sheep, a hundred loads of coals, twenty quarters of oats, much hay, a great deal of plundered lead, and a fort so strong, that if they had had such courage as became men of their profession, they would never have quitted it. They left all their works standing, and only broke up two arches of the Trent bridges, to hinder the governor's men from following them. Their flight was by that means secured, the river being so out that the horse could not ford over. Mr. George Hutchinson and his company were appointed to possess and keep the fort at the bridges, which he did; and the next week the garrison kept a day of solemn thanksgiving to God, for this success and the mercy in it, whereby all their men were preserved, notwithstanding their very bold adventures, so that not one of them was slain, and but four of them wounded, whereof three were so slightly hurt, that they returned again next day into the field. To increase their thanks to God, news was brought them that the same week the forces that went out from Newark, joined with Henderson's, had received a great overthrow by Cromwell; and that my Lord Newcastle had been forced to raise his siege of Hull with great loss and dishonour.[1] Some time

[1] The battle of Winceby or Horncastle took place on October 11, 1643. On the same day Lord Fairfax, by a

after the bridge was recovered, the horse went forth and brought in some oxen of Mr. John Wood's, a justice of the county, disaffected to the parliament, but not in action against them. He, following his oxen, came to the governor, and, after he had despatched his business, told him how Mr. Sutton would have once employed him on a message, to offer the governor any terms he would ask the king, to come over to his side and deliver up the castle to his use. Mr. Wood told him such a message would not obtain credit, unless he had some propositions in writing; whereupon he called for pen and ink, and writ that he should offer the governor, if he would resign his castle, not only to be received into favour, but to have what reward of honour, money, or command, he himself would propound; which paper when Mr. Wood had received, Sir Richard Biron came in, and Mr. Sutton told him the business; to which Sir Richard answered, he believed it would not take effect, for he himself had made the like offers to him, and been rejected: which Mr. Wood hearing, would not undertake the employment, but the governor made him declare the story to two of the gentlemen of the committee.

The governor not growing secure by successes,

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successful sally from Hull, forced Newcastle to raise the siege.

was but stirred up to more active preparations for the defence of the place he had undertaken; and having a very ingenious person, Mr. Hooper, who was his engineer, and one that understood all kind of operations, in almost all things imaginable, they procured some saltpetre men and other necessary labourers, and set up the making of powder and match in the castle, both of which they made very good; they also cast mortar pieces in the town, and finished many other inventions for the defence of the place. The governor also caused a mount near the castle to be bulwarked, and made a platform for ordnance, and raised a new work before the castle-gates, to keep off approaches, and made a new in-work in the fort at the bridges.[1]

Sir Thomas Fairfax, being overmastered in the north by the Earl of Newcastle's great army, after his father was retired into Hull, came with those horse that were left him, into the Vale of Belvoir, and so visited Nottingham Castle; where he and the commanders that were with him, considering of what advantage it was to the parliament to keep that place, by reason of the commodious situation of it, and the pass which might be there main-

[1] The Note-Book is rather more detailed. "The close before the castle was fortified, and a mount built there and ordnance planted on it, and a court of guard made there." There was also "a new inwork made and a work on Snenton side."

tained, between the north and south, and the happy retreat it might afford to their northern forces, very much pressed the governor and the committee to raise all the force they could, offering arms and commissions for them: especially he pressed the governor to complete a regiment for himself, which at that time he would not accept, because Colonel Pierrepont had not yet declared what he would do with his regiment. The colonel was then at Derby, whither some of his officers going to him, to know what they should do, he dismissed them; yet coming to the town, he gave out strange envious whispers, and behaved himself so disingenuously to the governor, that he had just cause to have no more regard for him; and being again importuned by Sir Thomas Fairfax, he received a commission to raise a regiment of twelve hundred. He presently recruited his own companies, and began to raise more: Mr. George Hutchinson was his lieutenant-colonel, and one Mr. Widmerpoole his major; there was a company raised by one Captain Wright; there remained a broken piece of Colonel Pierrepont's company, and Captain Poulton, who had been their captain-lieutenant, being dismissed by the colonel, had a new commission under the governor for a company; and those soldiers of Colonel Pierrepont's not knowing what to do, it was determined at a council of war of strangers, whereof Sir William Fairfax was

president, that they should enlist under Captain Poulton.[1] Sir William and Sir Thomas Fairfax, both of them, when the governor made scruple of passing by Colonel Pierrepont, assured him that they had intelligence given them in the north of his intentions to deliver Nottingham to the king.

About this time Chadwick, the deputy recorder of Nottingham, and one of the committee, came to Nottingham, from whence he went away, when the soldiers were all drawn out, and all that were fearful went to other places to secure themselves. This fellow being sent on a message to the Lord Fairfax, general of the north, had received letters of credence from the committee; but instead of prosecuting their business, which was to have procured some force from my lord to help keep the place, when my Lord Newcastle was daily expected to come against it, he procured himself a commission for a regiment, and a joint commission for himself and Colonel Pierrepont to be governors of the town and castle. The last he kept very private; the first he bragged of as a thing, which, my lord considering his great abilities, would needs enforce

[1] The arrangement made is more clearly explained in the Note-Book. "It was ordered that the company which was formerly in the regiment of Colonel Pierrepont as his own company, should remain in the regiment of Colonel Hutchinson, and receive for their captain, Captain Thomas Poulton."

upon him. In execution of this, he raised seven men, which were his menial servants, went into Staffordshire, possessed a papist's fine house, and fired it to run away by the light, when the enemy was thirty miles off from it,[1] and cheated the country of pay for I know not how many hundred men: for which, if he had not stolen away in the night, he had been stoned; and as his wife passed through the towns, she was in danger of her life, the women flinging scalding water after her. But before this, he came to Nottingham at the time the governor raised his regiment, and coming up to the castle, behaving himself somewhat insolently, and casting out mysterious words of his authority; the governor set on a person to find out his meaning, to whom he showed a commission he had privately obtained some four months before, for himself and Colonel Pierrepont to be joint governors of the county,

[1] I have not found any confirmation of this story. According to "Mercurius Aulicus," for December 2, 1643, Chadwick endeavoured to raise forces to assist Sir John Gell in the defence of Derby about this time. That journal notes the defeat of two thousand moorlanders, "English highlanders," near Leek, by a detachment from the Marquis of Newcastle's forces under Colonel Dudley. It states that five hundred prisoners were taken, including "their commander-in-chief, General Chadwick, learned in the law, well known in Nottingham."

town, and castle; but neither did he now declare this to any of the committee, but only made some private brags in the town, that he would shortly come and take order for the safety of the place, and so went out of town again. The governor acquainted the committee with this, who seemed to have great indignation at it, and wrote immediately to Mr. Millington, burgess of the town of Nottingham, to have the government of the castle confirmed to Colonel Hutchinson by authority of parliament. Mr. Salusbury, their secretary, had also put in the government of the town, but Colonel Hutchinson caused him to put it out; and the governor, being informed that Colonel Pierrepont, at London, was labouring to obtain a regiment, and to be sent down as governor of the town, he for the more speedy despatch, sent his own chaplain with the committee's letters to London, and sent other letters of his own to Sir Thomas Fairfax, to acquaint him how Chadwick had abused my lord, his father, in the surreptitious procurement of this dormant commission; which, during all the time of danger, had lain asleep in his pocket, and now was mentioned, as a thing, whereby he might, when he would, take that place out of Colonel Hutchinson's hands, which he had with so many labours and dangers preserved, by God's blessing, for the parliament's service; he therefore desired a commission for the castle only.

As soon as Mr. Allsop came to London, he was immediately despatched again to Nottingham, with an order of parliament, dated November 20, 1643, for Colonel Hutchinson to be governor both of the town and castle of Nottingham, with an acknowledgment of the good service he had done in preserving the place; and Mr. Millington said he should likewise have a commission from the Earl of Essex. At Leicester, Mr. Allsop met letters, directed to the governor, from Sir Thomas Fairfax, wherein was a commission enclosed from his father, then general of all the north, for the government of both the town and castle. These coming both together, although the general and the parliament had added the government of the town to that of the castle, as more honour to him, Colonel Hutchinson was for many reasons much troubled at it, among which these were some of his considerations. First, they were almost all malignants, there being scarcely a man left who was to be confided in, except those who were already listed into the castle. Secondly, they were not so much open, professed enemies, as close, hypocritical, false-hearted people; amongst whom were some leading eminent men, so subtle in their malignity, that though their actions were most prejudicial to the public service, yet did they cast such cunning, specious pretences over them of public good, that even the most upright men of the garrison were

often seduced by their fair colours. Thirdly, the most religious and the best people were so pragmatical, that no act, nor scarcely word, could pass without being strictly arraigned and judged at the bar of every common soldier's discretion, and thereafter censured and exclaimed at. Fourthly, the townsmen, being such as had lived free and plentifully of themselves, could not subject themselves to government; but were so saucy, so negligent, and so mutinous, that the most honourable person in the world, could expect nothing but scandal, reproach, and ingratitude, for the payment of his greatest merit; and this the worthy governor found sufficiently from them. Lastly, the few good men were so easily blown up into causeless suspicions and jealousies, and there were so many malignant whispers daily spread abroad of every one in office, that it was impossible for any man so worthily to demean himself, but that a jealous misconstruction of some inconsiderable trifle, was enough to blast the esteem of all his actions, though never so pious and deserving; and of all things in the world, nothing was so contrary to the governor's clear and generous heart, as a base and causeless jealousy of him. But notwithstanding these and many other reasons, such as the unprofitable expense of his time, estate, and labours, where he should reap neither glory nor advantage to himself, he considered, that since he had rather declined than

sought the enlargement of his power and command, and that the parliament and generals had at such a distance been moved to put it, unsought for, upon him, it was a work which God called him to, and that the Lord, who set him into the employment, would conquer all the difficulties. For the unjust thoughts or reports of men or their ungrateful returns, he was as much above the grief of that, as the vain-glory of mutable popular applause. It was in all things his endeavour to do and deserve well; and then he never regarded the praise or dispraise of men, for he knew that it was impossible to keep on a constant career of virtue and justice, and to please all. It sufficed him, for his inward peace, that he did not thrust himself into this and other employments, for any popular, ambitious, or advantageous interest of his own; but that he was called of God, to the carrying on of the interests of truth, righteousness, and holiness, and to the defence of his country, wherein he was faithful, and found the Lord's protection and glorious presence, not only in all he did, but in all he suffered for him and from him.

As soon as the governor had received his commission, he thought it his duty to put it into execution, and to arm and fortify the town; but my Lord Newcastle coming with all his forces into Nottingham and Derbyshire,[1] the governor, by the

[1] When Newcastle was forced to raise the siege of Hull

advice of the committee, forbore to publish his new commissions, lest the enemy, perceiving an intent to enlarge the garrison, should utterly destroy the town, before they were able to defend it. At the reading of his commission in the committee chamber, Colonel Thornhagh showed much discontent and was melancholy after it; whereupon the governor told him, that as he had not sought that enlargement of command, so if any of them thought themselves abridged by it, or any other inconvenience to the public service, he would resign it, and never make use of his commission. The colonel answered with much kindness, that he only wondered how the town came to be added, when they wrote for the castle; but he was well satisfied with it, and forced

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he marched to York, "where," says the duchess, "he remained but a few days to refresh his army, and receiving intelligence that the enemy was got into Derbyshire and did grow numerous there, and busy in seducing the people, that country being under my lord's command, he resolved to direct his course thither, in the beginning of November 1643, to suppress their further growth; and to that end quartered his army in Chesterfield, and in all the parts thereabout for a certain time." In December, she continues, he marched "from Chesterfield to Bolsover in the same county, and from thence to Welbeck in Nottinghamshire, to his own house and garrison, in which parts he staid some time, both to refresh his army and to settle and reform some disorders he found there."—Life of the Duke of Newcastle, pp. 48–50, ed. Rimbault, 1872.

himself to a seeming content, though the truth is he had some emulation but not malice, to the governor; and being of a nature a little jealous and easy to be wrought upon, the wicked enemies of the cause endeavoured, all they could, by insinuations to work disaffection and division between these two gentlemen, who were the most faithful, unbiassed, and zealous champions of the public interest, in their country. But after Colonel Thornhagh had been wrought up to declare his discontent, there were many odd passages, by which others also of the committee, who durst not before reveal their envious hearts, showed themselves displeased. Whereupon, when they were all together, the governor, who hated secret heart-boilings, spoke to them, and told them that their carriages since the commission came to him, did manifest their dissatisfaction in it; and if they would deal ingenuously with him and let him know it, as he had not sought the additional government of the town, so he would never undertake it, if they had any jealousies that, unknown to them, he had procured it for himself, and closely sought after the enlargement of his own power, by the abridgment of theirs, he assured them he was much mistaken, and that neither to Mr Millington, nor to Sir Thomas Fairfax, had he mentioned anything more than the government of the castle. For that of the town he rejoiced not in it, but looked upon it as a great burthen; yet since

it was conferred as an honour upon him, he should not decline serving them therein that had thought him worthy of it, except it gave distaste to any of those present; which if it did, he would esteem it an obligation, if they would but declare it before he published his commission. They all unanimously replied, they were not only contented, but exceedingly well pleased in it. Then the governor told them, if they were real,[1] as they professed, he should expect their ready and free concurrence with him, in all affairs tending to the public service, and in those courses he should apply himself to, for the good of the garrison: and again earnestly desired them, if they had any dislikes, either of himself personally, or of the alteration of the town out of the hands it had been in the last year, that they would now freely declare it: for as he should take it exceedingly kindly of them, to do so at this time; so if, after he had undertaken the charge, there should be any thwarting or crossing of powers and commands between them, he should not bear it; for as he should not stand upon all punctual niceties in his command, so he would not be abridged of the just and lawful power due to him in his place. They all unanimously answered, it was very fit and just he should have it, and they would rather

[1] Real—*Fr.* Vrais—sincere. The Note-Book has "really as they professed themselves."

endeavour to uphold him in it than in any way to retrench it.

Now was my Lord Newcastle's army come into Derbyshire, and having taken some places there, nothing was expected at Derby and Nottingham but a siege;[1] whereupon Captain Palmer's troop was called away from Broxtowe, and all the rest of the horse was sent away into Leicestershire, except a few left for scouts; and as soon as they were gone, my Lord Newcastle's forces came and quartered almost at the town side, and in all the near towns, and Hastings took this opportunity to make a garrison at Wilden Ferry. By the mercy of God the enemy was restrained from coming up to the town, though it lay so open that they might have come in at their pleasure; and they not only miserably wasted and plundered the country all about, but one of them told a malignant, where he quartered, that it was their design in coming to those parts, to devour the country. The regiments that were quartered the nearest to Nottingham were Sir Marmaduke Langdale's and Colonel Dacre's, who had been a familiar acquaintance of Lieutenant-colonel Hutchinson's when he was in the north, and they loved each other as well as

[1] At this point occurs in the Note-Book an episode headed "the quarrel between the Derby committee and ours about powder." The extract is given in the Appendix.

if they had been brothers. Colonel Dacre sent a trumpet to desire Lieutenant-colonel Hutchinson to send him a safe convoy, that he might come and see him, which he acquainted the committee with, and would have refused, but that the committee, thinking some good use might be made of it, persuaded him to suffer him to come; accordingly he sent him a ticket under his hand, promising him to come and go safely; so upon Thursday morning he came, with about eight more, to the top of the hill at Nottingham, and from thence sent his trumpet to the governor, as if not willing to trust himself without his leave, to know whether he would permit him and his two servants to come into his garrison to visit the lieutenant-colonel. The governor sent him a ticket for them to come in; and though usually they kept no sentinels in the town, yet he sent down some officers and soldiers to show him a guard at his entrance. When the lieutenant-colonel came to him, he made many endearing expressions to him; how much he rejoiced when his regiment was designed for that place where he was, and how kind an affection he retained for him, notwithstanding their contrary engagements. Falling into further discourse of this kind, he said that if he could but be convinced that the king first entertained papists into his army, and that the parliament had none in theirs, he would never fight more on his side. The lieutenant-colonel told him he should

easily be able to do that. "Well," said Dacre, "you and I must have some discourse in private,[1] and I shall be glad if you can satisfy me in that." Then the colonel desired some drink might be sent out to two or three gentlemen, that stayed on him upon the top of the hill; which the lieutenant-colonel hearing, sent some of his own officers and soldiers on horseback to fetch them down, who coming in all together with them, the town rose in an uproar, and came to the governor with a high complaint, that I know not how many cavaliers were come into the town, and rode up and down armed, threatening the people to their great terror. This the governor thinking to be true, was vexed at it, and sent down an angry letter to his brother, requiring him to send up the men that came last into the town. Col. Dacre hearing this, desired the lieutenant-colonel that the gentlemen might pass as they came, and offered to go up himself and answer for the offence they had given. But the lieutenant-colonel presently carried them all out of

[1] Though this may appear somewhat improbable at a time when religious opinions have so little effect upon political ones, it was otherwise considered at that time; for nearly at this same juncture it is to be seen, in Whitelocke, page 81, that Sir E. Deering did on this very account of there being so many papists and Irish rebels entertained in the king's army, quit him and come into the parliament, who admitted him to composition, being the first.—J. H.

the town, and came himself up to the castle, taking it something unkindly that his brother should write such a letter to him, and worse, that others should have suspicions of him; so that though he had made a promise to dine the Saturday following at Dacre's quarters, yet, to take away all offence and suspicions, he resolved he would have no more meetings with him, and to that end wrote him a very civil letter to excuse his not coming; and the governor wrote another to excuse the mistake, whereupon the gentlemen were sent for to the castle. Dacre returned complimental answers to them both, and writ another to Captain Poulton, entreating very earnestly the lieutenant-colonel and Captain Poulton to come and dine with him on Wednesday, and desiring the governor he might have the honour to see him. These letters being communicated to the committee, they would fain have had the lieutenant-colonel to have gone, but he held firm to his resolution and would not; so with their privity Captain Poulton only went to excuse it, and two of White's officers were sent along with him, with charge, if they could, to find out how the enemy lay. When Captain Poulton came, the colonel entertained him very kindly, and expressed a great deal of trouble that the lieutenant-colonel was not come, and took him aside and told him that the governor of Nottingham and his brother had now an opportunity whereby they might much advantage

themselves, and do the king excellent service. Captain Poulton asking him how, he said, if the governor would deliver up the castle he should be received into favour, have the castle confirmed to him and his heirs, have ten thousand pounds in money, and be made the best lord in the country. If the lieutenant-colonel would deliver up the bridges he should have three thousand pounds, and what command he would ask in the army; and offered Captain Poulton two thousand pounds to effect this. The captain told him, for his own part, nothing should buy him to such a villany, and he believed the same of the governor and his brother, and made no question but they had before been attempted. The colonel told him he did not this without authority, and thereupon pulled a paper out of his pocket wherein were words to this effect: "These are to authorise Colonel Dacre to treat with Colonel Hutchinson and Lieutenant-colonel Hutchinson for the delivery of Nottingham Castle and the bridges, and to make them large promises, which shall be performed by W. Newcastle." Having shown him this warrant, the colonel was very importunate with the captain to acquaint the governor and his brother, and return their answer to him upon the Friday after, when he offered to meet him, if they would, at a place called St. Ann's Well. Captain Poulton told the governor and his brother, and they told the committee, and showed them very disdainful

refusals they all had written to the colonel, and sent him by a drum; who was not long gone out of the garrison but another came from Colonel Dacre with a letter to Captain Poulton, excusing himself that he could not stay in his quarters for him, according to appointment, but assuring him that what he had promised should be really performed. The governor's drum, in the absence of Colonel Dacre, delivered the three letters to Langdale, who wrote them back a good civil letter, saying that he believed my Lord Newcastle and Dacre, out of familiarity and acquaintance with them, might have made these offers in kindness to them, but for his part he should otherwise pursue the king's service.[1]

After this, the weather being pretty fair, and the moon shining at that time, the governor sent out a foot company to beat up their quarters, and gave them a fierce alarum throughout, and took twelve horses out of one of their stables, which they sent home. On their return, meeting a great body of horse, they all at once discharged upon them, and killed some eight of them, as we were told in the morning. After this charge the horse immediately retreated and would not stand another, and the

[1] This correspondence is given in the Appendix: the letters to Colonel Dacre were published at the time, and reprinted by Vicars in his Parliamentary Chronicle (God's Ark, p. 144): the original of Langdale's letter is in the Bodleian Library.

next day removed their quarters further from the garrison. Then the governor and committee sent for the Nottingham horse back from Leicester, and appointed them to bring five hundred muskets which were come to Leicester for the governor. They came, but left the arms behind them. Besides this, the colonel and all his regiment fell into disputes, that the governors of the parliament garrisons had no command of the horse that were quartered in their towns; and hereupon the governor was often prevented of many opportunities advantageable to the public service, and much discouraged to find such obstructions from the envious pride and humour of those who should have been his assistants;[1] but he bore with it as long as himself only suffered by it, and was willing for quietness' sake to pass by many injuries offered himself, till the public service came to be infinitely prejudiced by it. In the meantime he went on, as well as he could, through all difficulties, in the faithful and active discharge of his trust. He called a committee and council of war, where it was put to the question and voted that the town should be fortified.[2] Then he applied himself to the thing, and called a full

[1] The Note-Book specially mentions Charles White as disputing the colonel's command over the horse.

[2] On the fortification of the town, and the meeting held to discuss it, see the extract from the Note-Book given in the Appendix.

Hall of all the town, who declared sufficiently their disaffection to the parliament, but in such a subtle way as would have entrapped a less prudent person. But the governor overlooked many things that he saw, and made use of all the advantages they gave him; and did not manifest his resentment at anything which they could cloak under a specious pretence, how disadvantageably soever it were designed against the parliament interest. The whole town unanimously voted that the place should be fortified, except Alderman Drury, and two or three that followed him. Then the governor gave them encouraging promises of his protection and care over them, and his endeavours to preserve them with his regiment, if they would assist in their own defence. The town being well satisfied, or at least seeming so (for he treated them with that dexterity that they could not for shame openly oppose him, though he was not ignorant that the cavalier party cursed him in their hearts, as the only obstacle in their greater desire of having declared themselves on the other side), with general outward cheerfulness, in Christmas week the works were begun.[1] About this time Sir Thomas Fairfax being to march into Staffordshire, sent for some arms he had left in Nottingham castle; and by the

[1] See Colonel Hutchinson's letter to Mr. Millington, January 3, 1644, in the Appendix.

same convoy that went with them the governor got his five hundred muskets brought home from Leicester. Sir Thomas sent orders to the governor to send him all the horse in the garrison; but when the governor acquainted them with it, they would none of them obey him and go, though Sir Thomas sent twice very earnestly for them, but stayed in Nottingham, where they would obey no order of the governor's; and by doing things that concerned the garrison without and against his orders, they made a sad confusion and thwarting of powers, which the governor bore with in respect to Col. Thornhagh, who did things not so much out of malice in himself, as out of a little emulation, which did not destroy his kindness to the governor, and by the subtle instigation of Capt. White, who wrought upon his facility to do those things which his malice and factious ambition prompted him to wish, but he durst not himself attempt. Although the horse would not obey Sir Thomas Fairfax, it was not out of cowardice, for the men were very stout and cheerful in the service, but only had the general fault of all the parliament party, that they were not very obedient to commands, except they knew and approved their employment.[1] They had

[1] On the representation of the governor that the protection of some of the horse was necessary during the fortification of the town, Fairfax gave him permission to keep

no sooner refused Sir Thomas, but my Lord Grey, sending for two troops, they went to him to Melton, which he had begun to fortify.[1] The governor, notwithstanding these obstacles from secret enemies and refractory friends, carried on his business with good success, and had many events according to his endeavours. Among the rest, his men encountering a party where Colonel Frecheville and Sir Henry Humlack were in person, fought them, killed many of their men, and took Frecheville prisoner; but his captain-lieutenant Jammot came to his rescue and freed him, though he himself was taken in his stead and brought to Nottingham.[2] Here, after he had been some time kept, he corrupted a soldier, who disguised and led him out, and went away with him. The man being a Frenchman and a proper black man, some would needs report him to be Prince Rupert, and thereupon raised a great clamour at the governor.

But before his escape, upon the 15th of January, intelligence was brought that all the forces in Newark were marched on a design upon Sleaford in Lincolnshire. The governor, not trusting that

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Captain White's troop, but reiterated the command to send the rest.—Note-Book, p. 42 b.

[1] The two troops were those of Captains Clerk and Taylor.—Note-Book.

[2] A detailed account of this skirmish and the incidents which led to it is given in the Note-Book. See Appendix.

pretence, commanded all the soldiers and townsmen to sit up that night and expect them; and the next morning, being Tuesday, two of his intelligencers came and brought him word very early that the design was against Nottingham.[1] After them the horse scouts came in with the news of their approach, the enemy's scouts and they having fired upon each other. Hereupon a strong alarum was given throughout the garrison, and a foot company sent down from the castle to the works, and the horse were there set with them, to dispute the enemy's entrance into the town; but the horse perceiving the enemy's body to be a great one, retreated to the castle, and the foot seeing them gone, and none of the townsmen come forth to their assistance, made also an orderly retreat back to the castle, in which there was not a man lost nor wounded. The works being imperfect and quitted, were easily entered, though the cannon that played upon them from the castle took off wholly the second file of musketeers that entered the gates. The first was led up by Lieutenant-colonel Cartwright, who two days before had sent to the governor for a protection to come in and lay down arms.[2] The

[1] Colonel Hutchinson's letter of January 16–17, 1644, gives a full account of this attack. See Appendix.

[2] "Upon Sunday morning, the 14th of January, Mr. Philip Laycock came to the governor, and showed him a letter that his brother, Lieutenant-colonel Cartwright, had written

enemy being entered, possessed themselves of St. Peter's church and certain houses near the castle, from whence they shot into the castle-yard and wounded one man and killed another, which was all the hurt that was done our men that day.

The governor was very angry with the horse for coming up so suddenly, and stirred them up to so a generous shame, that they dismounted, and all took muskets to serve as foot, with which they did so very good service, that they exceedingly well regained their reputations. Having taken foot arms, the governor sent one of his own companies with part of them, and they beat the cavaliers out of the nearest lanes and houses, which they had possessed, and so made a safe way for the rest to sally out and retreat, as there should be occasion.

When this was done, which was about noon, the governor sent out all the rest of the horse and foot, to beat them out of the town. Sir Charles Lucas, who was the chief commander of all the forces there, had prepared a letter to send up to the governor to demand of him the castle;

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to him, wherein he entreated his brother to speak to the governor to grant him a protection to lay down his arms, and live quietly at home, and to send him word speedily whether he could have it or no, for he was resolved to give over, and if he had not this protection he would try another way. The governor took time to consider of it."—Note-Book, 44 b.

or if he would not deliver it, that then he should send down the mayor and aldermen, threatening, that if they came not immediately, he would sack and burn the town. There were, at that time, above a thousand cavaliers in the town, and as many in a body without the town, to have beaten off Derby and Leicester forces, if they should have made any attempt to come in, to the assistance of their friends in Nottingham. On the other side the Trent, were all the forces Mr. Hastings could bring out, from his own garrison and Belvoir and Wiverton, to force the bridges. All the cavalier forces that were about the town, were about three thousand. When Sir Charles Lucas had written his letter, he could find none that would undertake to carry it to the castle, whereupon they took the mayor's wife, and with threats, compelled her to undertake it; but just as she went out of the house from them, she heard an outcry, that "the roundheads were sallying forth," whereupon she flung down their letter and ran away; and they ran as fast, from four hundred soldiers, who came furiously upon them out of the castle, and surprised them; while they were secure the castle would not have made so bold an attempt. But the governor's men chased them from street to street, till they had cleared the town of them, who run away confusedly: the first that went out shot their pistols into the

thatched houses to have fired them, but by the mercy of God neither that, nor other endeavours they showed to have fired the town, as they were commanded, took effect. Between thirty and forty of them were killed in the streets, fourscore were taken prisoners, and abundance of arms were gathered up, which the men flung away in haste, as they ran; but they put some fire into a hay barn and hay mows, and all other combustible things they could discern in their haste, but by God's mercy, the town, notwithstanding, was preserved from burning. Their horse faced the town in a valley where their reserve stood, while their foot marched away, till towards evening, and then they all drew off. Many of them died on their return, and were found dead in the woods and in the towns they passed through. Many of them, discouraged with this service, ran away, and many of their horses were quite spoiled: for two miles they left a great track of blood, which froze as it fell upon the snow, for it was such bitter weather that the foot had waded almost to the middle in snow as they came, and were so numbed with cold when they came into the town, that they were fain to be rubbed to get life into them, and in that condition were more eager of fires and warm meat than of plunder, which saved many men's goods, and their security, that did not believe an enemy, who had unhandsomely, to speak truth, suffered

them to enter the town without any dispute, would have durst, at such great odds, to have set upon driving them out. Indeed, no one can believe, but those that saw that day, what a strange ebb and flow of courage and cowardice there was in both parties that day. The cavaliers marched in with such terror to the garrison, and such gallantry, that they startled not when one of their leading files fell before them all at once, but marched boldly over the dead bodies of their friends, under their enemies' cannon, and carried such valiant dreadfulness about them, as made very courageous stout men recoil. Our horse, who ran away frighted at the sight of their foes, when they had breastworks before them, and the advantage of freshness to beat back assailants already vanquished with the sharpness of the cold and a killing march, within three or four hours, as men that thought nothing too great for them, returned fiercely upon the same men, after their refreshment, when they were entered into defensible houses. If it were a romance, one should say, after the success, that the heroes did it out of excess of gallantry, that they might the better signalize their valour upon a foe who was not vanquished to their hands by the inclemency of the season : but we are relating wonders of Providence, and must record this as one not to be conceived of, but by those who saw and shared in it. It was

indeed a great instruction, that the best and highest courages are but the beams of the Almighty; and when he withholds his influence, the brave turn cowards, fear unnerves the most mighty, makes the most generous base, and great men to do those things they blush to think on: when God again inspires, the fearful and the feeble see no dangers, believe no difficulties, and carry on attempts whose very thoughts would, at another time, shiver their joints like agues. The events of this day humbled the pride of many of our stout men, and made them afterwards more carefully seek God, as well to inspire as prosper their valour; and the governor's handsome reproaches of their faults, with showing them the way to repair them, retrieved their straggling spirits, and animated them to very wonderful and commendable actions.

The governor would not let his men pursue the rear, but thought they might, in the night, have completed their day's work, if they had fallen into the enemy's quarters, which he gave orders to the horse to do; but Colonel Thornhagh would not obey them, because they came from him, and so lost a great opportunity, and contented himself with praising God for the great deliverance of the day, wherein there was not one townsman that came in to the assistance of the soldiers.

The next day, the governor called the town together, and represented to them the mercy of God

and the malice of their enemies, who, without regard of any friends they had among them, came purposely to fire the town, which God alone preserved; and, having showed them their danger, he required they should be no longer slothful in their own defence, but should take arms to preserve their families and houses. He propounded to them, that if they would so do, they should choose their own captains. They, considering the just reasons and motives with which he urged them, at length resolved to join in their own defence, and chose four captains;[1] but the captains refusing, the soldiers that day went home unlisted, yet by the governor's dexterity in managing them, he at last brought four hundred, whereof more than half were high malignants, to enlist themselves under one Mr. Coates, a minister, an honest, godly man, and Mr. Mason,[2] an attorney, a great cavalier, but a reserved, silent man, who, for an austere knit of his brow, and a grave, severe countenance, had the

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[1] The Note-Book mentions five persons, viz., Mr. Mayer, Mr. Coates, Alderman Drury, Mr. John Gregory, and Mr. Mason; "but of all these captains there was not one but Mr. Coates that would stand, which so discouraged the soldiers that they also returned home unlisted." Mr. Mason seems to have been persuaded to accept a commission a few days later.

[2] The same whom, when put into confinement at the castle, the governor invited to his table.—J. H.

reputation of a wise man, but was known to be disaffected to the parliament, though cunning enough not to do anything that might expose him to sequestration. Into these men's hands he put arms, and so ordered them, that at the last they grew fiercer in the service than those who were uprightly honest.

The next month the Lord Chaworth sent a letter to the governor, acquainting him that he was sick, and desired a protection to come and remain at his own house, in order to make his peace with the parliament; which protection the governor gave him.[1]

The governor had acquainted the parliament with the late successes, whereupon they ordered a thousand pounds to be sent to the garrison out of the sequestrations of London, and the excise of the town to go to the payment of the garrison; but through Mr. Millington's negligent prosecution, the thousand pounds never came.[2]

The governor went on again successfully in his employment, and began to endear himself to all the town as well as to the soldiery; which awakening White's sleeping envy, he cast new plots to disturb

[1] About the same time the Earl of Clare sought to make his peace with the parliament. See the extract from the Note-Book in the Appendix.

[2] The letter in question is the one already referred to. About this time occurs the capture of King's Mills, which is described in the Note-Book. See extract in the Appendix.

him; and first made a motion to send to London for two hundred soldiers: to which the governor answered—If they were honest, there were men enough to keep the garrison; if they were not, to call in other forces was but to bait their treachery with a greater prize; and that to send for more force, while they had such slender maintenance for these, was to increase trouble without any benefit.

The same afternoon the committee sent the governor a warrant to be signed, which was before subscribed by four of them, White in the front.[1] The warrant was to this effect:—

"*To* MR. HOOPER, *Engineer of the Garrison of Nottingham.*

"You are hereby required to make your present appearance to this committee, there to give an account, what you have done about the works of the town, and how far you have proceeded in them; how, and in what manner, and by what time you intend to finish them; and what materials are needful for the finishing of them, there being imminent danger to the garrison."

As soon as the governor received the warrant, he took the engineer with him, and went to the

[1] The other three signers of the warrant were Widmerpoole, Salusbury, and James.—Note-Book.

committee, to whom said he, "Gentlemen, I received just now such a strange warrant from you, that I can impute it to nothing but a picked occasion for quarrel. If you desire to question anything in the fortifying of the town, I have not only brought the engineer, but am here myself to answer it: if there be money in his hands, let him give you an account of it; but concerning the fortifications, I conceive he is only to be accountable to me; therefore why this warrant should be made, I cannot tell, unless purposely to affront me; as for that imminent danger you pretend, it is utterly unknown to me, and if there be any, I ought to have been made acquainted with it, and desire now to understand it." They answered, "Were they not in daily peril?" He replied, "That was certain, but at this time none more imminent than usual that he knew of; and further desired them, if he had been negligent in those things which conduced to the safety of the town, that they would article against him, whatever they could accuse him of; if he had done nothing worthy of blame, he took it exceedingly ill, to be thus thwarted and affronted in his just and lawful command." Upon replies and debate, White said, "If Hooper did not render them an account of his works, they would clap him by the heels." Whereupon the governor, addressing to him only, told him, "that from the first opening of his commission he had manifested his

discontent, and that he had taken notice of his secret endeavours to oppose him, and was glad the humour was now so ripe as to vent itself; that for the time to come, since he saw his condescensions did but encourage them to wrest all things from him, and to question all his dues, he would now expect that full observance from them all, that was due from the officers of a garrison to the governor; that he expected the horse should receive orders from him, and that he would no more put up with such affronts and neglects as he had that very day received, when, calling for a muster, of the horse to have been sent out upon a very advantageable design, a whole troop, unknown to him, was by the committee sent out for hay, whereby that opportunity was lost." He told them further, "that protections charging officers and soldiers to forbear plunder, ought to be given only by him upon their certificate, and not by them; and," said he, "Gentlemen, I received that affront from you lately, which no governor in the world, but myself, would have put up with; when at a public council of war, among all the officers, enough to have caused a mutiny, it was propounded how far my command extended, and questioned whether I could command horse in the garrison? And all of you, at a council of war, ordered that the booty taken should be at the disposal of the chief officer that went out; so that if a corporal went out, he

must dispose of the booty, which in all garrisons is the governor's right to do."

While they were in this dispute, the lieutenant-colonel came in, and seconded his brother; and after some smart disputes on both sides, they parted for that night.

The next morning[1] the committee sent for the governor, who coming to them, one of them drew a paper out of his pocket, and offered some propositions to the governor; which were, first, that the dispute between them might be silenced and kept private; next, that he would join with them, in a letter to Mr. Millington, to desire him to get the question decided by the close committee, What were the several powers of a governor and a committee? And, lastly, that he would draw up what he conceived his power to be. To this the governor replied, that for silencing the thing, he was very willing to do it; for sending to the close committee, he very well understood his own power, and if they questioned it, they might send whither they pleased, to satisfy themselves; for setting down the particulars wherein he conceived his power to consist, when he did anything, which they thought belonged not to him, let them call him to question where they pleased, and he should be ready to give an account of his actions, but he

[1] The 13th of February.—Note-Book.

would not make himself so ridiculous as to send for satisfaction in unquestionable things; yet for their information he would go along with them, if any of them pleased, either to my Lord of Essex or my Lord Fairfax, to have the power of a governor decided. They told him the generals understood not the power of a committee so well as the parliament, and therefore wrote a letter to Mr. Millington with extraordinary commendations of the governor, yet desiring to know the extent of his power, and showed it to him. He told them, if they believed those things they wrote of him, he wondered whence all this discontent should arise, for he appealed to them all, whether, ever since he undertook the government, he had usurped any command over them, or done so much as the most inconsiderable act without acquainting them, and receiving their approbation; and what should ail them, he could not imagine, unless they were discontented at his being made governor; which if they were, they might thank themselves, who put it upon him, when he received nothing but trouble, expense, and danger in it. They all acknowledged his appeal true, and said they had desired his establishment in the government of the castle, as the man they esteemed most worthy of it and most fit for it. He told them, if the addition of the town grieved them, that was to be transferred on the parliament, who without his seeking had added that to him. One

of them replied, they had so worthy an opinion of him, that they wished the assessing of the country too might be only put into his power. He said he should have been obliged to them had this proceeded from anything but discontent, and that if without his own seeking he should be honoured with that trust, as he was with this, he should endeavour to discharge it faithfully; but he rather desired it might continue in the hands it was, and if he were negligent to fetch in those assessments, which were given him, then let the blame lie on him; but for rating and assessing the towns, those who were acquainted with the country were fitted for it; and thus for the present it rested.

The design they prevented by sending out the troop unknown to him, was, the saving the town of Southwell from being made a garrison for the king;[1] which, the town being unwilling to, sent word to the governor, that if he would come and assist them, they would join with him to beat out

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[1] "The design the governor was then prevented of was: the cavaliers had begun to fortify the minster and the bishop's palace at Southwell; the town being much troubled at it, sent word that there were there but one hundred foot and one hundred horse, and if the force that Nottingham could send out would come and fall on them in their quarters, the town would rise with them." The governor intended to review the horse on the 12th, and send them out on the 13th February.—Note-Book.

some soldiers that intended to fortify themselves there; but the horse, by reason of their employment, failing on those two days, and extraordinary ill weather coming after, that opportunity was lost: this was about the middle of February. Captain White continued still afterwards to prevent all designs whose events might in any way have conduced to the governor's honour, not weighing what hindrance it was to the public service, which was a great vexation to the governor; but his courage was above their malice, and his zeal to the service carried him vigorously on, in all things which he could accomplish by his own officers and soldiers, who were more obedient to him; and, although this exercised his patience, yet was it also a spur to his diligence, and made his fidelity more illustrious, and kept him more in waiting upon God, and more strict in his watch over all his actions, because he knew how all his enemies watched for his fall.

Upon the eleventh of February, Cornet Palmer, who had been prisoner at Newark, came home and told the governor that he had discovered in his prison a design intended about this time to surprise the bridge by Hacker's soldiers, who were to come in the habit of market people the next Saturday. This intelligence was seconded, whereupon the governor sent his officers to command all the bridge soldiers to keep in their quarters that day: he commanded also all the horse in the town to be

ready to go out upon the first sound of the trumpet, and gave orders for all the drums in the garrison to beat betimes in the morning; the lieutenant-colonel set a guard beyond the bridge, with charge strictly to examine all passengers. About eleven of the clock on Saturday, the 17th of February, they took twelve of them[1] upon the bridge, disguised like market men and women, with pistols, long knives, hatchets, daggers, and great pieces of iron about them;[2] whereupon they sent and acquainted the governor, who being himself on horseback at the works, went immediately down to the bridge, and commanded all the horse to come away and pursue them; but the horse commanders, being always slow in obeying his commands, came not till the enemy's foot beyond the bridge, perceiving their fellows were taken upon the bridge, retired and got safe off; only nine, who were to have assassinated those at the bridge, and had advanced forwarder than the rest for that purpose, were overtaken, and with their captain leaped into the Trent to have saved themselves, of whom our men plucked four out of the water, five were drowned, and the captain swam to shore on the other side. The governor was in doubt whether these men, taken in disguises, were

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[1] Hacker's soldiers.

[2] See the portion of Colonel Hutchinson's letter given in the Appendix.

to be released as prisoners of war, or executed as spies and assassins by martial law; but though he would not have cared if the bridge-soldiers had turned them into the Trent when they took them, he afterwards released them all upon exchange, except one Slater, a soldier of his own that had run away to the enemy, and this day was taken coming into the town, with a montero[1] pulled close about his face, but denied that he was of the design; yet after, upon trial at a court-martial, he was condemned and executed. The governor had sent out some horse and foot,[2] to drive the grounds at the enemy's garrison at Shelford, which they did, and from under the very works from which the enemy shot at them, brought away many beasts and horses, that belonged to the garrison, and brought them up into the castle-yard. The governor being then in the committee-chamber, told them it was fit the soldiers should have a reward, whereupon it was ordered to give them six pounds, and the governor told the soldiers the committee had assigned them a reward. But when they came to receive it, Salusbury, the treasurer, tithed it out, and gave the soldiers a groat a piece, and sixpence a piece to the officers, which in all came but to

[1] A kind of cap so called.

[2] "Six score of his own and the Major's foot, and Captain White's and Captain Palmer's horse."—Note-Book.

forty shillings and odd money; which the soldiers, being madded at, flung back his money, and desired a council of war to do them right; which the governor assented to, and the next day the business being heard at a full council of all the officers of the garrison, it was determined by the unanimous vote of all but Mr. Salusbury, that as the enemy shot at them, when they took the booty, it did of right belong to the soldiers that fought for it, and so they had it. Whereupon Salusbury flung himself away from the board in a great huff and muttering, for which the governor rebuked him, and told him such carriage ought not to be suffered in him, who, as an officer, ought to have more respect for the place and them that sat there. After this, about eighteen of the lieutenant-colonel's men went out and met twenty-five men in arms; between them there was a brook, the bridge-men called to them, and asked of what side they were, and perceiving they were cavaliers, told them, after some little defies between them,[1] that though the number was unequal, they would fight with them; and passing over the brook, charged them, put them to flight, killed two of them, took eight prisoners, and twelve of their horses. Upon examination they were found to be northern gentlemen, who having enlisted themselves in the prince's own troop, after

[1] "After some scolding."—Note-Book.

the death of Sir Thomas Biron that commanded under the prince, were assigned to my Lord Wentworth, at which being discontented, they were now returning into their own country, being almost all of them gentlemen. Sir Richard Biron, for his brother's memory, exchanged them for prisoners of Nottingham, taken when the town was first surprised.[1]

At the end of this month, on the fast-day, the national covenant was taken, with a great solemnity, both by the soldiers and inhabitants, men and women, of the garrison.[2] This day, unexpectedly, came Sir Edward Hartup, with a thousand horse from Leicester and Derby, to which the governor added between five and six hundred; Sir Edward

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[1] These Nottingham prisoners had been confined in Pontefract Castle.—Note-Book.

[2] "On the fast day the national covenant was generally taken throughout the whole garrison: the women and those that were not soldiers took it at their parish churches. After the sermon, which in every church was made purposely for that occasion, all the soldiery, both horse and foot, were drawn forth into the field, and after the covenant being read and prayer made in three several places, the governor and every captain in the head of their companies, with all their soldiers, solemnly took the covenant, and to express their joy, there was a general shout throughout the whole field, and a psalm sung, after which they went all according to their several companies into the town and subscribed it."—Note-Book, 55 a.

being appointed to command the party, should have gone with them to take Muscam Bridges, at Newark, before which place Sir John Meldrum was now come, with about seven thousand men, and had laid siege to it. The horse of Newark, as soon the parliament's forces came, made an escape over Muscam Bridge, which Sir Edward Hartup, having more mind to drink than to fight, lingering a day at Nottingham,[1] and then marching to no purpose against it, lost his opportunity of taking; yet God, by a providence, gave it up with 200 men that kept it to the parliament's forces, who, had they then pursued their success, might have carried the town too, but it was not God's time then to deliver the country of that pernicious enemy. The horse that were escaped out of Newark, went into all their garrisons in the Vale and Derbyshire, and gathered up all the force they could make, to about the number of two thousand, and with these they came and quartered near Nottingham; themselves and the country giving out that they were about four thousand.

There was a fast kept at Nottingham, to seek God for his presence with our armies; and before the first sermon was ended the enemy's horse came

[1] "They should have marched the next day, but Sir Edward Hartup had more mind to drink, and went not till Friday."—Note-Book.

to the town side and gave a strong alarm,[1] and continued facing the town till night, at which time they returned to their quarters, and those horse that were in the garrison following their rear, gleaned up two lieutenants and two or three other officers. The next day the body marched just by the town side, and so passed over the river at Wilden Ferry. After they were gone from about Nottingham, the governor went down to the Leaguer, at Newark, where Sir John Meldrum had made all things ready for a general assault on the town; but at a council of war that was called in the field, it was determined that it should not then be, whereupon the governor of Nottingham returned to his garrison; who, coming to take his leave of Sir John Meldrum, Sir John intreated him that he would return again and be among them as much as he could, making a sad complaint of the envyings, heart-burnings, and dissensions that were among the several commanders, so that he had much ado to hold them together, and had great need of men of moderation and prudence to assist him, and to help to mediate among them. The forces that Sir John Meldrum commanded before this town, were gathered out of several associated counties, and the commanders were so emulous of one another, and

[1] "They all being drawn out and come as far as the Lings."—Note-Book.

so refractory to commands, and so piquing in all punctilios of superiority, that it galled the poor old gentleman to the heart; who, having commanded abroad, and been used to deal with officers that understood the discipline of war, was confounded among those who knew not how to obey any orders, but disputed all his commands, and lost their time and honour in a fruitless expedition, through their vain contentions; whereas, had they joined in the assault when he then would have made it, they might probably have carried the town, but missing that opportunity, they came off at last with loss and dishonour. While the governor was at the Leaguer, Sir John Meldrum told him, that Colonel Pierrepont had been with him, to get his hand to a paper, which should have testified, that the government of Nottingham did of right belong to him; but Sir John answered he could not testify any such thing, for it was his own act to confer that government where now it was; with which Colonel Pierrepont seemed very well satisfied at that time. When he could not prevail in this, he desired Sir John to set his hand to another paper, which should have certified, that in all things he had approved himself most firm and faithful to the service of the parliament. Sir John said he would not injure him so much as to make any such certificate of a thing not called into question; but if there should be any doubt of it, he should be ready

to do him all right. Colonel Pierrepont, moreover, went to the governor's soldiers, that had formerly been of his regiment, and giving them twenty shillings to drink, told them he was to be governor of the town, and would shortly come among them.

Sir Edward Hartup was sent with the party of horse he before had at Muscam Bridge, to pursue those that were gone out of Newark, and fight with them, and hinder their joining with Prince Rupert, who was expected to come to raise the siege; and when Sir Edward came into Leicestershire the whole country rose with him, and the governor of Leicester brought out foot and cannon to assist him.[1] His forlorn hope being of the Nottingham horse, charged the enemy's forlorn hope and routed them, and then fell into their body of foot, which they had drained out of their little garrisons, and routed them also, and if Sir Edward Hartup would have come on with his body, they had all been cut off; but the knight would not stir, but commanded the forlorn hope to retreat, who had slain and taken many prisoners of the enemy, and among them

[1] This account of the behaviour of Sir E. Hartup (or Hartopp) is confirmed, with additional details, in the pamphlet entitled, "A brief relation of the siege at Newark, as it was delivered to the Council of State at Derby House by Lieutenant-colonel Bury, whom the Earl of Manchester sent to report." Hartup returned towards Newark on Tuesday night, and the battle took place on Thursday.

Jammot, that had lately made his escape out of Nottingham Castle. The enemy perceiving Sir Edward would not hurt them, rallied again and joined with Prince Rupert; of which, as soon as Sir Edward had intelligence, he went back to Newark with such shameful haste, that he quitted Melton with all the prisoners the forlorn hope had lately taken. The Leicester forces, discouraged at this carriage, returned to their garrisons and marched no more with him.[1]

The governor of Nottingham kept out spies upon the enemy's motions, and sent word to the Leaguer, but the gentlemen there were so over-confident, they would not believe any force could come to raise their siege. At length, the governor of Nottingham being there himself, word was brought that Prince Rupert was come to Ashby; wherefore he, fearing some attempt upon his garrison, to divert the forces at the siege, returned home with his brother to look to their charge. It

[1] In Whitelock's Memoirs, p. 85, there is an account of this relief, or raising the siege of Newark, agreeing with Mrs. Hutchinson's, except that it is not quite so particular, and omits the account of what befell Colonel Thornhagh. Whitelocke attributes to the misconduct of Sir E. Hartup and Colonel Bingley Prince Rupert's coming with his forces entire to the place, and informs us that a court-martial was directed to decide upon their conduct, but does not state what their decision was.—J. H.

was late upon Wednesday night when the governor came home, and was certainly informed that Prince Rupert was, that afternoon, marched by to raise the siege with about six thousand men.[1] Immediately the governor sent two men, excellently well mounted upon his own horses, to carry the alarm to Sir John Meldrum, who by two of the clock on Thursday morning delivered him their letters, and he presently prepared to fight with the prince, who about nine or ten of the clock came. Sir John had drawn all his ordnance into the walls of a ruined house, called the Spittle, and the horse were the first to charge the enemy.[2] Colonel Thornhagh and Major Rossiter gave them a very brave charge, routed those whom they first encountered, and took prisoners Major-general Gerrard and others, and had they been seconded by the rest of the horse, had utterly defeated the prince's army; but the Lincolnshire troops fled away before they ever charged, and left Colonel Thornhagh engaged, with

[1] See the pamphlet entitled, "His Highness Prince Rupert's Raising of the Siege at Newark, March 21, 1643. Written by an eye-witness to a person of honour."

[2] "The Spittle or Exeter House, a little more than musket-shot from the town."—Prince Rupert's Raising of the Siege, &c. In the account of the former siege, in February 1643, it is described as, "the Earl of Exeter's House, which was an hospital heretofore dependent on the see of Lincoln, but now assured upon the family by an Act of Parliament made this session."

only his own horse, with the prince's whole body, where, they say, he charged the prince himself, and made his way and passed very gallantly through the whole army, with a great deal of honour, and two desperate wounds, one in the arm, the other in the belly. After the Lincolnshire horse were run away, Sir John Meldrum sent the Derby horse and the Nottingham foot, with two companies of Col. King's, to keep Muscam Bridge, and Molanus, the Derbyshire major, to be their commander. Colonel Thornhagh was sent home in a wagon to Nottingham. Sir John himself, with the few horse and dragoons that were left from Nottingham and Derby, being about five hundred, went into the Spittle to his foot. The prince lost more than Sir John in the skirmish, but as soon as ever Sir John had betaken himself to the Spittle, the prince sent horse and foot between him and Muscam Bridge.[1] The horse that were

[1] Rapin gives a different account of this matter, but to those who know or observe the situation of the places, Mrs. Hutchinson's will appear to be the true one. Besides Muscam Bridge there was a bridge of boats, which enabled the prince's forces to surround the guard left at Muscam Bridge. This guard, instead of *deserting*, as Rapin says of it, was deserted and sacrificed for want of support; the road still lay open to Lincoln, but probably Prince Rupert was too strong and too active to let the besiegers escape any way, unless they had acted with better accord amongst themselves.—J. H.

left there to guard the foot ran every man away, so that they had not a horse left to fetch them any provision. The major that commanded them told them that he would go to the next town to buy them some bread, and with that pretence came away and never saw them more. The enemy was endeavouring to make a passage over the river, to come on the other side of them and encompass them, which when they saw and considered that they had no order what to do, nor bread for one meal, nor bullet more than their muskets were loaded withal, and that it was impossible for them to come off if they stayed till the enemy enclosed them; and further discovering that their friends in the Spittle were in parley, they conceived it their best way to come home, which they plotted so to do that the enemy might not perceive it till they were out of their reach; so leaving lighted matches and squibs laid at certain distances, to deceive the enemy, they came safe home.[1] But within less than half an hour after they were gone the enemy came on the other side, and not missing them till morning, by reason of the squibs, they pursued them not, by which means they came safe to Nottingham; which was a very seasonable mercy,

[1] The Note-Book speaks of "squibs that should go off like muskets." In Colonel Bury's narrative the conduct of this detachment in thus abandoning the bridge is severely censured.

for had they stayed the choicest arms in the garrison had been lost, and the best and most confiding soldiers disarmed. For Sir John agreed upon articles with the prince, to deliver up the Spittle wherein he lay, with all the muskets, ordnance, and ammunition in it; the foot soldiers to march away with colours flying, swords and pikes, the horsemen with their horses and swords, and all the commanders with their pistols; but the prince broke all these conditions, and pillaged them to their shirts, and sent many captains quite naked away.[1]

The committee of Nottingham now began again to mutter at the governor, but he would not take notice of it, but applied himself to take care for the securing of his town, where the enemy now daily threatened to come. So he floated the meadows on the Line side, where there was no fortification,

[1] In the royalist narrative it is stated that "for the horsemen's carrying away their arms, and others their pikes, with more than was conditioned, our unruly soldiers (especially those that had been so before used at Lincoln by the Parliamenteers), taking this occasion to quarrel with the rebels, took more from them than by the articles they should have done: but for this were divers of them slashed by the prince, and the rebels' colours sent back unto them."

The arms taken were, according to the same authority, "between three and four thousand muskets, and a great quantity of pikes and pistols, also eleven fair brass pieces, two mortar pieces, and one basilisk of Hull."

and raised a fort in the midst of the meadows to preserve the float, and fortified the Trent bridges more strongly; and, expecting the enemy every hour, was forced to let the work go on all the Lord's day. When, calling the captains together to consult on the best way of preparing for their defence, Mason, the new town captain, took this time to revive the old mutiny, and said the townsmen would not stand to their works except the ordnance were drawn down from the castle to the town works; the governor rebuked him for this unseasonable insolence, as he and his men were, all the time of this great exigence, so backward that they were rather an obstruction than assistance, and there was much ado to get them either to the works or the guards. Indeed such a blow was given to the parliament interest, in all these parts, that it might well discourage the ill-affected, when even the most zealous were cast down and gave up all for lost; but the governor, who in no occasion ever let his courage fall, but, when things were at the lowest, recollected all his force, that his own despondency might not contribute anything to his malicious fortune, at this time animated all the honest men, and expressed such vigour and cheerfulness, and such stedfast resolution, as disappointed all the malignants of their hopes. The wives, children, and servants of such as were in the enemy's garrisons and armies, he thought it not safe to

suffer any longer to be in the town in such a time of danger, and therefore commanded them all to depart, not sparing even some of his own relations; but though this was done by the concurrence of the whole committee, yet some of them, who were loath the town should lose any that wished ill to the governor and his undertakings, privately, without his consent or knowledge, brought back several persons that were very dangerous to the place.

And now, upon the twenty-fifth day of March, a letter was brought to the governor from all the commissioners at Newark, telling him that the parliament's forces had quitted Gainsborough, Lincoln, and Sleaford; and that the prince intended to advance against Nottingham, and to fire the town, if he did not immediately throw down the works, which if he should not do, the world would then take notice of him as the only ruin of his native country.[1] To which the governor returned them answer, that as he never engaged himself in this

[1] This letter, together with a letter from the governor of Nottingham Castle, was read in the House of Commons on March 29th, and referred to the committee of both kingdoms. I have not been able to find them. Colonel Hutchinson's answer was amongst the letters in the possession of Warburton, when he wrote his "Life of Prince Rupert" (see vol. i., p. 520), but it did not pass into the possession of the British Museum as many of those papers did.

service, with respect to the success or actions of other places, so though the whole kingdom were quit besides this town, he would yet maintain it as long as he was able, and he trusted that God would preserve it in his hands; but if it perished, he was resolved to bury himself in the ruins of it, being confident that God would after vindicate him to have been a defender, and not a destroyer of his country. The copy of the letter which the Newark commissioners sent to the governor, was sent to one Francis Cooke, a malignant inhabitant of the town, subscribed with all the commissioners' hands, and desiring him to communicate it to the whole town. The governor, having taken what care he could at home, sent immediately to the parliament and to the Earl of Essex, acquainting them with the desperate condition of the place; and desiring that they would send him seasonable relief, if the prince should besiege him, promising to employ his utmost endeavour to hold it for them, or to lose himself with it. My lord general returned a very civil encouraging letter, and now the prince, two days after the letter, was advanced within three miles of Nottingham; when it pleased God to divert him from coming against the town by letters which were brought him from Oxford, which occasioned his hasty return into the south, without any attempt upon the place, which, by God's mercy, was thus delivered from this threaten-

ing danger.[1] However, their enemies at Newark, by the late success, were very much exalted, and by the quitting of so many parliament garrisons about them, increased in power, and were left at leisure to turn all their designs against Nottingham, which being so infirm within itself, the governor had a very difficult task to preserve it; while the disaffected, who were subtle, did not clearly declare themselves, but watched all opportunities to work the governor's disturbance, by fomenting the ill-humours of the factious committee-men and priests; for they now took occasion to fall in with them, upon the governor's release of his chief cannoniers out of prison, into which he, by the instigation of the ministers and the godly people, whom they animated almost to mutiny, had put them, for separating from the public worship, and keeping little conventicles in their own chamber. It was with some reluctancy he had committed them, for the men, though of different judgments in matter of worship, were otherwise honest, peaceable, and very zealous and faithful to the cause; but the ministers were so unable to suffer their separation and spreading of their opinions, that the governor was

[1] Rupert returned by way of Shrewsbury and Hereford, reaching Oxford on April 25th, to take part in an important council of war. Clarendon says he was called away from Newark by the Earl of Derby's appeals for the relief of Latham.

forced to commit them; yet during this great danger, he thought it not prudent to keep them discontented and then employ them, and therefore set them at liberty, for which there was a great outcry against him as a favourer of separatists.[1]

[1] The chief of these cannoniers was that Lawrence Collin mentioned in a former note. He continued at Nottingham after all the wars were over, but being persecuted on account of his religion, applied to Cromwell for protection, and was effectually screened by him from his persecutors; he lived to more than ninety years; his descendants rose to opulence, and one of them founded a very handsome hospital. This family united themselves to that of Langford, and both being molested on the score of nonconformity, were peculiarly protected by James the Second, and stood stedfastly by him at the revolution, at which time he got many sectaries to join the catholics, and make common cause against the church of England. By this turn of events and opinions, Langford Collin, Esq. before mentioned, came to be the head of the country, Jacobite, or anti-revolutionist party, while the Plumptres and Hutchinsons embraced the Hanover or Whig party, as mentioned in the note, p. 190, just spoken of.

Since the publication of the first edition, there has appeared a very candid critique of this work in the Annual Review for 1806, containing the following remark: "It may be mentioned as an additional proof of Mr. Hutchinson's rectitude, that when George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, was imprisoned at Nottingham, he protected him; thus proving that, unlike the greater number of those who were engaged in the same cause, he allowed that liberty of conscience to others which he claimed for himself."

The Editor thought it his duty, upon this suggestion, to

It will not be amiss, in this place, to carry on the parliament story, that we may the better judge things at home, when we know the condition of affairs abroad. The queen, being suffered to pass through Nottinghamshire by those forces which were sent down thither to have prevented her, joined with Prince Rupert and came to the king; and was by the parliament voted traitor for many actions, as pawning the crown-jewels in Holland, encouraging the rebellion in Ireland, heading a papistical army in England, &c.

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make further inquiry, and has in pursuance of it been furnished by a respectable friend, Mr. Barker, surgeon, at Colchester, with the two following extracts, together with some others, which will appear in their proper places.—G. Fox's Journal, fol. ed. p. 27. "I went to the Steeple House at Nottingham, during the time of divine worship, addressed the people, and was committed to prison. When the assizes came on, there was one moved to come and offer himself up for me, body for body, yea, life also; but when I should have been brought before the judge, the sheriff's man being somewhat long in fetching me to the sessions-house, the judge was risen before I came, at which I understood he was somewhat offended. So I was returned to prison, and put into the common gaol; and the Lord's power was great among friends, but the people began to be very rude, *wherefore the governor of the castle sent down soldiers and dispersed them, and after that they were quiet.*" Sewell's Hist. of Quakers, fol. ed. p. 22. "Now though the people began to be very rude, *yet the governor of the castle was so very moderate, that he sent down soldiers to disperse them.*"—J. H.

The Earl of Essex's army lay sick about London for recruits; Sir William Waller, after many victories in the west, was at length totally routed, and returned to London, Prince Maurice and Sir Ralph Hopton having recovered and possessed almost the whole west of England for the king. The north my Lord Newcastle's army commanded so fully, that they were advanced into Nottingham and Lincolnshire, and the adjacent counties. The parliament, being in this low condition, had agreed with Scotland, and entered into a solemn national league and covenant, which was taken throughout both kingdoms; and the king had made a cessation of arms with the Irish rebels, and brought over the English army, that had been honoured with so many successes against them, to serve him here. But God never blessed his affairs after they came to him, though indeed before their arrival God had begun to turn the scale; for the city of Gloucester stopping, by its faithful and valiant resistance, the career of the king's victories, after Bristol and Exeter and all the west was lost, the king, disdaining to leave it behind him unvanquished, sat down before it, which employed him and his whole army, till the Earl of Essex and his recruited army, assisted with the London auxiliaries, came and relieved it, and pursued the king's army to an engagement at Newbury; where the parliament obtained a great and bloody victory, and the king

for ever lost that opportunity he lately had of marching up to London, and in probability of subduing the parliament. My Lord Newcastle, by a like error, about the same time, setting down before Hull, missed the opportunity of wholly gaining all those neighbouring counties, and much wasted his great and victorious army, being forced to rise with loss and dishonour from the unyielding town. After the fight at Newbury, Sir William Waller, having gotten a new army, had divers successes with it, and at length totally routed all Hopton's army, about the time that Prince Rupert raised the siege at Newark, and was the occasion that called the prince so hastily out of those counties.[1]

The Earl of Essex pursuing the war, had a design to block up Oxford, where the king was, and accordingly attempted it, he on one side, and Waller on the other; but the king, with a few light horse, escaped out of the town, and went to join with his greater armies; which being done, Essex marched further into the west, and in Cornwall was besieged, where he lost all his foot, ammunition, and ordnance, and came dishonourably home to London. Waller unsuccessfully followed the king,

[1] The first battle of Newbury took place on September 20, 1643; the defeat of the Irish army at Nantwich, January 25, 1646; Waller's victory at Alresford, March 29, 1644; Essex's surrender in Cornwall on September 2, 1644; and the battle of Marston on July 2, 1644.

and the parliament's affairs, all that summer, were very unprosperous in the west, south, and midland counties, but contrary in the north, where the Scotch army, under General Leven, advanced, took some towns and forts, and wasted the Earl of Newcastle's army more by their patient sufferance of the ill weather and martial toil, which the English could not so well abide, than by fighting. Sir Thomas Fairfax, having again taken the field with his father, after a miraculous victory they had gained over the Irish army which the king had brought over, joined the Scots; and the Earl of Manchester, having raised a force in the associated counties, with which he made an expedition to Lincoln, having Colonel Cromwell for his lieutenant-general, marched into Yorkshire, and uniting with the other two armies, they all besieged the Earl of Newcastle in York. To raise this siege, Prince Rupert came with a great army out of the south; the besiegers rose to fight with the prince, and Newcastle drew all his force out of York to join with him, when both armies, on a great plain called Marston Moor, had a bloody encounter, and the Scots and Lord Fairfax had been wholly routed, and the battle lost, but that Cromwell, with five thousand men which he commanded, routed Prince Rupert, restored the other routed parliamentarians, and gained the most complete victory that had been obtained in the whole war. The victors possessed all the prince's

ordnance, carriages, and baggage; whereupon the prince fled, with as many as he could save, back into the south; the Earl of Newcastle, with some of his choice friends, went into Germany, and left Sir Thomas Glenham governor of York, which he soon after surrendered, and then the three generals parted; Leven went back into the north, and took the town of Newcastle, Fairfax remained in Yorkshire, and Manchester returned into the south, taking in many small garrisons by the way as he passed through the counties.

The queen went that summer into France, to solicit foreign aid for her husband, but ineffectually; meanwhile new treaties were carried on between the king and parliament, but to no purpose; for the king's false dealing and disingenuity therein was so apparent that they came to nothing, but a further discovery of the king's falsehood, and favour of the Irish rebels, with whom he now employed Ormond to treat and conclude a peace. This treaty was that at Uxbridge, where commissioners met on both sides, but effected nothing; for the parliament itself began to grow into two apparent factions of presbyterians and independents, and the king had hope, by their divisions, to prevail for the accomplishment of his own ends.[1]

[1] Whoever will take the pains to read the king's letters in Clarendon's State Papers, will see that this is a true repre-

It was too apparent how much the whole parliament cause had been often hazarded, how many opportunities of finishing the war had been overslipped by the Earl of Essex his army; and it was believed that he himself, with his commanders, rather endeavoured to become arbiters of war and peace, than conquerors for the parliament; for it was known that he had given out such expressions. Wherefore those in the parliament, who were grieved at the prejudice of the public interest, and loath to bring those men to public shame, who had once well merited it of them, devised to new-model the army; and an ordinance was made, called the Self-denying Ordinance, whereby all members of parliament, of both houses, were discharged of their commands in the army. Cromwell had a particular exception, when Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh, surrendered their commissions; and Sir Thomas Fairfax was made general of the new-modelled army, Cromwell lieutenant-general, and Skippon major-general. The army was reduced to twenty-one thousand, who prosecuted the war not with design of gain and making it their trade, but to obtain a righteous peace and settlement to the dis-

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sentation of his sentiments; but Heylin pretends the failure of the treaty arose from the extreme pertinacity of the rigid presbyterians: we may very well allow both their share. —J. H.

tracted kingdom, and accordingly it succeeded in their hands.[1]

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[1] It is suggested by Rapin and others that this new-model and self-denying ordinance arose not from the motives here set down, but merely from intrigue; yet Whitelocke, who even spoke against it, p. 123, shows the indispensable necessity for such a new model. "Some members of the house were sent to their generals to complain of their remissness. The Earl of Manchester was under a kind of accusation, the lord-general in discontent, Waller not much otherwise, the forces not carefully ordered, and the parliament business in an unsettled condition, so that it was high time for some other course to be taken by them." Mr. Sprigge demonstrates this more fully. He says, "Cromwell was absent in the west when the exemption was voted; that he had come to Windsor over-night to kiss the general's hand, and take his leave on quitting the service, but the following morning, ere he came from his chamber, those commands, than which he thought of nothing less in all the world, came to him from the committee of both kingdoms, in obedience to which he immediately marched away." And further, "that the house did this for their own happiness, and that of their general, Fairfax."

Mrs. Hutchinson was sufficiently observant of Cromwell's artifices to have accused him of it on this occasion, if he had deserved it.—J. H.

APPENDIX.

I.

Extract from the preface of the Rev. Julius Hutchinson to the first edition of the Memoirs, giving an account of the descendants of Colonel Hutchinson.

Colonel Hutchinson left four sons, of which the youngest only, John, left issue two sons; and there is a tradition in the family, that these two last descendants of Colonel Hutchinson emigrated, the one to the West Indies, or America, the other to Russia; the latter is said to have gone out with the command of a ship of war given by Queen Anne to the Czar Peter, and to have been lost at sea. One of the female descendants of the former the editor once met with by accident at Portsmouth, and she spoke with great warmth of the veneration in which his descendants in the new world held the memory of their ancestor Colonel Hutchinson. Of the daughters little more is known than that Mrs. Hutchinson, addressing one of her books of devotion to her daughter, Mrs. Orgill, ascertains that one of them was married to a gentleman of that name.

The family of Mr. George Hutchinson likewise became extinct in the second generation.

Charles Hutchinson, only son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson by Lady Catharine Stanhope, married one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir Francis Boteler, of Hatfield Woodhall, Herts; which family being zealous royalists, and he solicitous to gain their favour (which he did so effectually, as in the end to obtain nearly their whole inheritance), it is probable that he gave small encouragement or assistance to the elder branch of the family while they suffered for their republican sentiments; on the contrary, it is certain that he purchased of Mrs. Hutchinson and her son, after the death of Colonel Hutchinson, their estate at Owthorpe, which, joined to what his father had given him, and what he obtained by his marriage, raised him to more opulence than his father had ever possessed; and he seems not to have fallen short of him in popularity, for he represented the town of Nottingham in parliament from the year 1690 (being the first general election after the accession of King William) till his death.

His son Julius returned into that line of conduct and connexions which was most natural for one of his descent, for he married Betty, daughter of Colonel Norton, of Wellow, of the well-known patriotic family of that name in Hampshire, and whose mother was a Fiennes. He seems to have bestowed a very rational and well-deserved attention upon the writings of Mrs. Hutchinson, and there is a tradition in the family, that although he had many children of his own, he treated with kindness and liberality the last descendants of his uncle, and assisted them with money to fit them out for their emigration. The editor has seen a written memorandum of his, expressing his regret at hearing no more of them after their departure.

From the circumstance of these, the only grandchildren of Colonel Hutchinson, standing in need of this pecuniary assistance, from the mention Mrs. Hutchinson makes of her husband's debts, and from an expression contained in that

book which she addresses to her daughter, Mrs. Orgill desiring her not to despise her advice though she sees her in adversity, it is highly probable that, even after selling her husband's estates, the sum to be divided left each member of the family in strait circumstances.

The affection and well-merited esteem with which Mrs. Hutchinson speaks of her brother Sir Allen Apsley, will excite an interest in the reader to know what became of him and his posterity; the short pedigree subjoined will show, that by two marriages, and by the death of his grandson in his minority, the family of Apsley entirely merged in the noble family of Bathurst, who have adopted the name Apsley as their second title; there are five or six of the family of Apsley entombed in Westminster Abbey, near to the entrance of Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

II.

A true relation of some remarkable passages concerning the Nottinghamshire Petition, &c., written from an Esquire of Nottinghamshire (being one of the gentlemen who presented their petition at York), and sent to his brother dwelling in London.

"LOVING BROTHER,—I was this last week at York, with twenty gentlemen more and divers others, to deliver a petition to his majesty, which was done on Thursday last being the last of March; and Lincolnshire delivered one on Monday before: Yorkshire delivers one about Tuesday next, and Derbyshire about Wednesday, or Thursday next; all which are much tending to one effect, that is, humbly to entreat his majesty to abide near, and hearken

to his parliament, and to remove evil counsellors from about him, with some other things. I have copies of them all, but they are too long for me to copy out at this time; ours I am confident John Drewrey showed you the last week, if not, Master Fakingham can show it you, and you may show him this answer given to us under the secretary's hand with his majesty's direction, and it is the very same Lincolnshire gentlemen received from his majesty to their petition. Yorkshire it is said will appear fourteen thousand in person to avow theirs—the sheriff is a chief man in it. Derby is said to be three hundred at least—the sheriff, baronets, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and others. Lincolnshire, Sir Richard Earle delivered it with some twenty gentlemen of quality, who were scoffed at by the courtiers and citizens and called Roundheads; they lay in York on Sunday, being coronation day, where was bonfires made and much disorder; and about midnight that night, about three score persons with clubs and bills assaulted the house where they lay, and swore they would have the bloods of them; the gentlemen being up, and the rogues got into the house, they were forced to put out their lights, and betake themselves to their swords, which done the unknown rascals departed, giving threatening speeches that they would cut the throats of them that came next; yet I praise God we had reasonable fair quarter with them. The city of York we perceive offers these abuses to petitioners on purpose to deter them for coming to the king, because they would have (him) reside with them; those that are well affected (which are but few in comparison of the multitude) do join with us willingly and freely, both in judgment and matter. The court is very thin as yet, but increaseth daily. The latter declaration mentioned in our answer is not yet in print; the king's first answer was, he refers us to the Kentish petition, but we pressing for a further and more satisfactory answer, had as you may here see with hopes still of a better. The Kentish

petition was ordered to be printed, but speeding so badly at London, it is stopped as yet; much more I could tell you but my occasions will not permit me, therefore with our best affections to you all, I commit you to the Lord's protection and rest—Your ever loving brother, while

JOSEPH WIDMERPOOLE.

"Report this from me to be a true copy of our answer there."

The pamphlet also contains the Nottinghamshire Petition, a brief answer from the king, and the king's message of April 8th to the Parliament.

III.

Copy of a letter from a gentleman near Nottingham to his friend in London.

"I received your last letter and books for which I thank you, as also D. D. for his. I came on Wednesday night last from the court at Nottingham, where I saw the king set up his standard on Monday night before. The manner thereof was this: His majesty came into the castle-yard, accompanied with the prince, duke, Prince Robert and Maurice his brother, the Duke of Richmond and divers other courtiers and cavaliers, and finding out the highest pointed hill in the yard, from whence it might be perspicuous, the standard was brought in, and there erected. At which time all the courtiers and spectators flung up their caps, and whooped, crying "God save King Charles and hang up the Roundheads," and so whooped the king to his lodgings. After which, the standard was thence removed to the highest tower of the castle, where it hangs blowing, and so must, till the king advanceth his camp forward, then it

removes with him. It is a long pole, like a maypole, painted red on the upper end, whereof hangs a large silk flag (in form of a scutcheon), with a red cross and two lions passant upon two crowns. The Prince Robert was next day made general of the horse, and had a ribbon and George delivered him; and so had the Duke of York. And the king made declaration that whoso would go that afternoon with Prince Rupert against Coventry and Warwick, it should be acceptable service. Whereupon he and divers others went away thither, where the king had sent about six hundred horse and foot a week before, who, on Saturday and Sunday last, had been beaten by the men of Coventry (who keep the Cavaliers out), having slain one, and wounded divers of them, and themselves lost two or three. Warwick Castle keeps them off, where twelve men have been slain, most of the king's side. There is no considerable party at Nottingham to do anything. Monday and Tuesday, very few came in; but there is great expectation of multitudes from Wales and Westmoreland. Yorkshire stands firm. Drums beat about Nottingham for volunteers for the king, who will be at Lincoln this night, where all the gentry are summoned to meet him. Troops of horse are coming to be billeted in our county; we fear outrages by them. They commit rapine and spoil already about Nottingham, having ransacked gentlemen's houses, made one Master Needham's own cart bring away to Nottingham bedding, linen, pewter, butter, cheese, and other things out of his house; he is accounted a Roundhead. So at York; sixteen of them beset a knight's house (whom the king had disjusticed), broke in, sought for the knight, whom they would have slain (as themselves declared), but he getting away (by the help of his servants), they took £70 in money, his plate, and divers other things, and so returned. Some of them are apprehended. They give out that Roundheads' estates shall be free prize; and indeed against them is the quarrel,

whom I hope the Lord will protect. My house is much threatened and I do verily expect an assault, for which I have prepared to defend myself. We think the parliament forces too slow in coming down."

Mr. Bailey, who quotes this letter in his History of Nottinghamshire, thinks that it is by Col. Hutchinson, on account of the reference to the plunder of Mr. Needham's house which is mentioned in the Memoirs, and the writer's own danger.

IV.

The attempt to obtain possession of the powder in the magazine of the county of Nottinghamshire, and other incidents which took place during the king's stay at Nottinghamshire.

Mr. Bailey in his "Annals of Nottinghamshire" (vol. ii. p. 651) concludes that the account given in these Memoirs of the attempt made to seize for the king's service the powder belonging to the county, and Colonel Hutchinson's successful intervention to save it, is entirely fictitious. He argues that the story told by Mrs. Hutchinson contradicts itself, because she represents her husband in one place as interfering in time to prevent the powder being carried off, in another as being informed of the attempt too late to prevent it (vol. i. pp. 153–169). He also brings forward an entry in the records of the town council, which states that the town willingly agreed to lend the king some powder, and asserts that this disproves Mrs. Hutchinson's narrative.

But the contradiction referred to does not in reality exist at all. True or untrue, Mrs. Hutchinson's story is perfectly consistent. The two passages which are cited as contradictory refer, not to the same, but to different events. The

first is the account of an attempt which failed, the second of an attempt which succeeded. Nor does the municipal record disprove Mrs. Hutchinson's statements, for the entry in question relates to the powder of the town, whilst her narrative relates to that of the county. That entry, on the contrary, confirms her account, and helps to fix the date of the events mentioned in it. The entry in the Hall Book of the Corporation is as follows :—"August 3d, 1642. This company are content at my Lord Newark's motion, to lend out of the town's magazine one barrel of powder, which is promised to be returned again within ten days next ensuing, and also by a note under Sir Nicholas Byron's hand, in Mr. Mayor's custody." In the dialogue between Lord Newark and Mr. Hutchinson, the former states that the town have cheerfully lent the king a barrel of powder, therefore this attempt to obtain possession of the powder of the county probably took place about the middle of August. Charles arrived at Nottingham from York on August 10th, and set out again on the 18th for Warwickshire. On the 20th he made his unsuccessful attempt to enter Coventry. It was most likely during the interval between August 3d and August 20th that the unsuccessful attempt to obtain possession of the powder took place. Vicars in his "Parliamentary Chronicle," and several newspapers of the time,[1] mention the king's unsuccessful endeavours to secure the aid of the Nottingham train bands, and the use of their magazine for this expedition. A contemporary pamphlet entitled "The King's Majesty's proposition to the Gentry and Commonalty of Nottingham" (in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum, E. 116) says :—

"The king's most excellent majesty having within a few days taken into consideration the great and manifold preparations that are now making for war here in the south,

[1] *e.g.*, "Special Passages," No. 2, August 16–23.

and in divers places of this kingdom, and being informed of some of his council of the proceedings in Warwickshire, forthwith resolved to send some aid to the Earl of Northampton, so that he might by that means the better perform the trust reposed in him, and to that end his highness intended to send out warrants to all the adjoining counties for their appearance, to aid and assist his majesty therein, but the greatest part refused to come to obey the warrant. His royal majesty being somewhat displeased thereat, that they should deny to obey his command, sent out a strict command that they should resign up their arms, and restore them to those which he had appointed to take charge of them; and having a great confidence of his subjects of Nottingham, thought it meet and expedient to desire the aid and assistance of the trained band of that city to guard his royal person towards Coventry, and to that end propounded these following propositions to them, viz. :—

"1. That they would be pleased to go along with him towards Coventry in Warwickshire, for the aid and assistance of his royal person against all those that should presume to oppose him.

"2. That his majesty desired all his loving subjects of that county to make their appearance at Nottingham, where his majesty hath now set up his standard, to assist him against the rebels (meaning the parliament's forces), but the county refused the same, vowing to lose their dearest lives in the defence of his royal majesty and the parliament against the bloodsucking cavaliers.

"3. His majesty propounded unto them, that the trained band of that county might go along with him, to guard his royal person from his foes and enemies, but they utterly denied these his majesty's demands, and would by no means condescend thereunto.

"4. His majesty desired that they would be pleased to lend him the magazine of the said county, promising to see them

have it again ere long time, but they likewise denied this his majesty's request, and would not give their consents that it should be transported out of their own county."

Thus Mrs. Hutchinson's statement that an attempt was made by the king to obtain the powder in the county magazine is confirmed, though she doubtless exaggerates the part played by Mr. Hutchinson in protecting it.

The newspaper which bears the name of "Special Passages" supplies many details respecting the king's stay at Nottingham. It mentions amongst other things the plunder of Mr. Millington's house, and another paper names Mr. Piggot as a sufferer. The successful attempt to obtain possession of the powder doubtless took place after the raising of the standard, when the king had collected two or three thousand men, and disarmed the trained bands. The Memoirs, however, seem to fix it as taking place directly the king's soldiers came to the town. "Special Passages," No. 3 (August 22–29), states that after the setting up of the standard, "the cavaliers having disarmed all the townsmen that had arms sent them from the parliament, three householders refusing to deliver arms which they bought with their own money were committed to the castle." But the general disarmament of the Nottinghamshire trained bands took place later. A letter dated Northampton, September 12, gives the following account of it (A Continuation of our Weekly Intelligence from his Majesty's Army).

From its full knowledge of events at Nottingham, it is possible that this letter may have been written by Colonel Hutchinson, who left Nottingham a few days earlier, and, after passing a little time in Leicestershire, visited Essex at Northampton.

"MY GOOD FRIEND,—I sent fuller, but it was intercepted in the way. In brief, the king wants money, the pay is nothing but dollars, the town is forced to take that for six

shillings which is not worth five shillings,—besides the king called the gentry of that shire together to desire of them five hundred pounds, a relic of ship-money left in the then high sheriff's hands, the beginning of parliament: the middle-sized gentry, though they made appearance, were not called up, did not give their consent, being discontented; however, the five hundred pounds was taken. Many of the king's servants go away for want of pay; for ordnance there is no more noise of any, only I hear an inkling, as if they were making some iron ones; for foot they have some more; the king desired to see them complete, there were of them nigh three thousand, men and boys, but not above half armed, and eighty of them were hired for one shilling a man for a day, and to mend the matter, to deceive to the full, they gave up in a list to the king five thousand. The parliament army disquiets Nottingham, and so they are resolved to go further off, to Derby first and then westward, and perhaps north-west too therefrom. I do believe it is yet to be resolved. It is sure two pieces of ordnance went to Derby on Wednesday last, some arms and ammunition; on Saturday it was expected more should go, and this day the king was to go; whether to return it is not yet resolved, but it is most probable they will leave Nottingham. They threaten to pillage it before they take their leaves, and some rascals talk of worse, but sure they dare not do it. The king soon moved the trained bands of Nottinghamshire, the appearance was thin; they told him (he told them?) he never received so much loyalty and affection from any county; and though he called them to appear in person with their arms, yet because of harvest, and because of their wives and children, it should suffice to send him their arms, and on the word of a king to return them when he had settled his kingdom in peace. They cried out they would go with him; however, their arms were commanded to the castle for that night, and next morning they were forced to

return disarmed. So they served Leicestershire. I guess his counsels vary, and did he know how to bestow his ordnance, he would be altogether in a flying posture, and turn his foot into dragooners, which yet he may do if foot come in no faster. They will incline westward or north-west, and in the way get up what arms they can, by speeches and perforces. Derby was forced to resign some, that shire is righter than most. We get nothing in the counties by this deliberation, and I find, if they were not seeing people, they would to the cavaliers, as Nottingham and such towns, when promises have been made in vain." . . .

V.

Sir John Gell.

Mrs. Hutchinson's account of Sir. John Gell has been often quoted and often criticised, and seems therefore to demand an examination. The first two charges relate to his treatment of Sir John Stanhope. It should be remembered that Sir Thomas Hutchinson's second wife was the daughter of Sir John Stanhope, and that Sir John Gell's ill-treatment of a person so nearly allied to Mrs. Hutchinson might well incline her to look on all his actions with considerable prejudice. Sir John Gell was Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1635, and in that capacity had to raise £3500 from the county. Mr. Garrard in one of his letters to Stafford (Jan. 8, 163⅝, Stafford Correspondence, vol. i., p. 505) gives the following account of Stanhope's case:—"Sir John Stanhope was sent for up by a sergeant-at-arms, his misdemeanour thus: the Sheriff demanded of him what he was assessed at for the shipping-money. He answered he had no money, but offered to show him plate or cattle: the

sheriff took some cows to raise the money and drove them away, not putting them off suddenly he sold them under the money Stanhope was set at, so comes again to drive more. Sir John Stanhope, a choleric man, withstands the sheriff's bailiffs, gives them ill words, and he and his men rescue the cattle from them. He is not yet come to answer this : the sergeant returned with affidavits from the neighbour justices, that he is so afflicted with the stone and pains of the gout, that he cannot stir without danger of his life." This account is confirmed by the notices in the Calendars of Domestic State Papers for the years 1635 and 1636. Sir John Stanhope being unable to appear before the council, entered into a bond to conform to their orders, and paid eight pounds, which may have been the sum at which he was originally assessed or the balance due. Sir John Gell himself claims (March 14, 1636) that he was specially considerate in the levy of ship-money : "he had special care that the poorer sort paid nothing at all, and that those who were in debt, or had charge of children, to their desire, and any other that came or sent to him was abated."

The account given of his devastations at Elvaston is thus confirmed by "Mercurius Aulicus" for Feb. 15, 1643. From Derbyshire the carriage and behaviour of Sir John Gell, the ringleader of the rebels there, was certified in these words that follow :—"Sir John Gell with his forces consisting of about 400 men came to Elvaston in Derbyshire, an house of the Lady Stanhope's, widow of Sir John Stanhope's, to whom Gell (though never a friend), yet in his lifetime durst not declare himself an enemy. But after his death, making use of the power given him by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he plundered his house of all the arms, money, and goods of worth he could find, to the value of £1500. Not contented with this, and to make it more plainly appear that his coming was as much for malice as plunder, he went into the garden (in which the good lady, taking very much

delight, had made it a very pleasant place, with handsome walks and diversities of the best flowers), which he caused to be digged up, and utterly ruined. He left not here, but to add more to her vexation, and to please himself in doing mischief, he went into the church, where she had lately erected a tomb for her husband which cost her £500, that he caused to be demolished, and the stones to be broken into several pieces, that no possibility was left to repair it. But his act of greatest inhumanity was to go with his soldiers into the vault, where the dead of the family were usually buried, and to run their swords through their dead bodies." Gell's soldiers, like most of the local levies of the parliament, were badly disciplined and very irregularly paid; they were therefore generally obliged to subsist by requisitions, and "lay upon free quarter," as they did whilst at Nottingham. Sir John Gell in his "True Relation" of his services admits, whilst endeavouring to excuse, the plunder of the Earl of Chesterfield's house at Bretby. A letter of the 2d January, 1643, from the inhabitants of various villages in Derbyshire, accuses him of plundering many other royalist gentlemen. It is given in the Appendix to Glover's Derbyshire.

Mrs. Hutchinson also accuses Gell of cowardice at the battle of Hopton Heath, when "some that knew him well said his men held him up, among a stand of pikes, while they obtained a glorious victory." It is only fair to quote Gell's own account of the battle. The horse with the exception of about 200 troopers fled and left the foot to contend against the Earl of Northampton's victorious cavalry. "Our colonel quit his horse and went to the foot, being then in great fear and disorder, many of them ready to run and standing with their pikes advanced: the colonel, with his own hands, put down their pikes, encouraged both them and the musketeers, who were all disorderly crowded together; he speedily got them into order and gave the enemy such a

volley of shot upon their charge that they first wheeled . . . and presently fled." The charge of cowardice is not supported by facts, nor by probability. Gell seems, in short, to have resembled his own soldiers, "good, stout, fighting men, bul licentious, ungovernable wretches."

Another charge which Mrs. Hutchinson brings against Gell is that he pensioned the diurnal-makers in order to purchase himself a name. Such an accusation it is impossible to prove or disprove. It is certain that Gell is more often mentioned in the diurnals than his services seem to merit, and that very small exploits of his are recorded at disproportionate length. It is worth remarking also that the paper entitled "Perfect Occurences" possessed, at least during 1644, a correspondent at Derby who hardly allowed a week to pass without a letter about the doings of Sir John Gell, and even chronicled his capture of Major Hacker's charger.

Two accounts of Sir John Gell's services were drawn up under his own supervision and are printed in the Appendix to Glover's Derbyshire. One of them is also printed in the Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, together with numerous extracts from the Gell Papers at Hopton Hall. Gell's narratives supply many valuable illustrations of Nottinghamshire history during this period, but they are both avowedly of the nature of apologies, and therefore to be used with caution.

VI.

Six Letters relating to the proposed treaty of neutrality for Notts. Dec. 1642.

From MSS. in the British Museum, No. 25,901.

Sir John Digby, his summons.

For his honoured friends Isham Perkins *and John* Hutchinson, Esq., or to either of them this *with* speed.

SIR, — Upon conference with divers gentlemen *we* thought it very convenient that the justices of this county should meet together to *confer* of such things as may best tend in these sad times to the peace and safety of this county. Wherefore I have thought it my part *to request* you whose names are here underwritten *to give* me meeting at the sign of the Talbutt, Newark, upon Tuesday the tenth of this month. There we may together confer of such things as may be fittest both according to the law of the land and the law of nature, for the defence of our country and safety of our persons and estates.—Hoping hereof you will not fail, I rest your assured loving friend, JOHN DIGBY.

December 7th, 1642.

Postscript.—For Isham Perkins, Esq., and John Hutchinson, Esquire. I have sent the like intimation to all the Justices of Peace.

For John Hutchinson, Esquire, at Nottingham.

SIR,—We received a letter from the high sheriff, Sir John Digby, dated the 9th of this month, importing his desire of a meeting of all the justices of this county, to consider of such things as might be fittest for the peace and

safety of this county, and safety of our persons and estates, to which effect he informs us he also writ to you. According to which his letter, we, whose names are here underwritten, did meet in hope of an universal concurrence of the whole body of the county to so pious a work, which might avoid the effusion of blood, preserve our estates in peace for the present, and prevent factions for the future in our posterities, but unhappily we find here a slender appearance. The cause hereof we cannot guess, unless it be the report of some small forces which Mr. Sheriff hath brought here for the guard of his own person, and this meeting, for which he hath good cause, as he hath made appear to us and will likewise to you upon your meeting; which force, if you please to give a meeting, shall be forthwith removed, with assurance upon our honour and reputation that no other shall be raised, if you, likewise, will give assurance upon your honour and reputation that none of your forces shall stir, nor any other by you be brought into this county during the present treaty; and if you please to come to this town, where we stay your answer, we shall give you the same assurance of safety both in coming hither, staying here, and returning, and if you shall think any other place more fit we shall meet you there, first receiving upon your honour and reputations the same assurance of safety. We profess before Almighty God we are here, as loyal hearts to his majesty, faithful hearts to the parliament, and compassionate hearts for the peace of this county, and if you shall meet us with the like we hope God will be with us, and his blessing.

CHAWORTH.
THOMAS WILLIAMSON.
ROBERT SUTTON.
MATTHEW PALMER.
ROGER COOPER.
JOHN MILLINGTON.

For the Honourable the Lord Chaworth and the rest of the gentlemen at Newark.

SIRS,—We do most joyfully receive your most favourable, and we are confident real, expressions of regard to us, and especial care of the general peace and safety of this county, which we take God to witness was the first ground of the course we are now in, and the only end of the same, wherein we beseech God to send us success answerable to the integrity of our hearts. For our giving you meeting we are most willing to do the same in any place secure, which we are assured will be to us wheresoever you shall pass your honour and reputations for our safeties; but yet we conceive no place so fit for the business we all intend as this town of Nottingham, being the county town, where we assure you upon our honour and reputation, you shall not only receive a free and glad admittance, a welcome continuance, and a friendly return, but a most friendly concurrence of us in all things for the public good. Although we were making us ready, as well for our own safeties, as also for the mutual assistance of those counties, when it shall be required, with which we have entered into an association, yet we had not so speedily set ourselves in this posture, had not a late warrant of so strange a nature issued forth through this county from Sir John Digby, and certain information being given us of a great force which he commanded to attend him from Mansfield to Southwell and Newark, and as we were further informed from thence to Nottingham, which put this town and the places adjacent into a great trouble and amazement; which said posture, though most sorry for the occasion thereof, we cannot decline for the reasons herein specified; yet we intend not thereby the least disturbance of any of you performing, as we hope you will, all good offices in your power for the good and tranquillity of this country; in full

testimony whereof we do earnestly entreat you to lay aside all endeavours of raising a force in the country, and do us the favour to let us attend you at the place formerly desired, and then we do heartily wish and shall faithfully endeavour a perfect union and harmony in this whole county for our mutual defence in these miserable distractions. The town of Nottingham do most joyfully concur with us in the said course, as it may appear to you by a letter from the town of Nottingham to the corporation of Newark. We do earnestly entreat your speedy answer.

FRANCIS PIERREPONT,
JOHN HUTCHINSON.

To the Honourable Francis Pierrepont, and our noble friend John Hutchinson, Esquire.

Your kind entertainment of our letter we are exceeding glad of, such is our zeal to the peace of this country. This our intended meeting by God's blessing will uphold us, even as it were now sliding into blood and faction, which meeting that it may be most free and all scruples be removed, we have entreated two gentlemen, namely, Mr. John Wood and Mr. Robert Butler, of known moderation and discretion, to bring to us from you an explanation of one part of your letter, which seems to be conditional, which words are, "that we intend not hereby the least disturbance of any of you performing, as we hope you will, all good offices in your power by the tranquillity of this county;" by which words of your letter, you seem to us to be the judges whether we, or any of our carriage, be or have been, such as be good offices for the tranquillity of this county, for if they be not so esteemed by you we put ourselves under your power, you keeping yourselves in your posture of force. Sir, for the place, though it be out of our county and that, an indif-

ferent place was most fittest for all, yet such is our desire for the peace and quiet of this county as we shall comply with your desires, and, though all our hearts tell us there is nothing why we should doubt, yet discretion certainly bids us desire a clear explanation of those words. Then, sir, we or at least two of us, come to you what day you please with hearts full of hope for the public, and rest with our prayers to God for a blessing.

CHAWORTH.
THOMAS WILLIAMSON.
MATTHEW PALMER.
ROGER COOPER.
ROBERT SUTTON.
December the 15th, 1642. JOHN MILLINGTON.

To our honourable good friends Francis Pierrepont and John Hutchinson, Esquires, these present.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Nothing but peace, nothing but the safety of the county is intended by us, we protest before Almighty God; the hopes of which was near lost yesternight if this town had been surprised by some troops of Lincolnshire horse who presented themselves near the town; to prevent which and to preserve this much threatened town from foreigners, and the county from this barbarous and never enough to be hated plundering, the truth is we were not unwilling to continue those forces sent into this town by the Lord of Newcastle his excellency; which upon the settlement of peace among us we hope we shall be able to prevail with his excellency to remove, or place others, or none at all, as we shall agree for the peace of the country. Sir, unless you otherwise dispose we will wait on you at the lodge

formerly appointed, betwixt ten or eleven of the clock or thereabouts, to-morrow, and we do engage our reputations that you shall have all safety, in coming, staying, and returning, and the same assurance, sir, we desire to have from you, though we hope it is needless from any of us, our hearts being so full of integrity to the happy issue of this work which, all other set aside, is the sole aim and shall be endeavour of your friends and servants,

JOHN DIGBY, Vic. Com.
ROGER COOPER.
GERVASE EYRE.
ROBERT SUTTON.
JOHN MILLINGTON.

NEWARK,
23d December 1642.

Postscript.—NOBLE SIR,—Upon the honourable parole of a gentleman from me and my troops, you shall be safe to come and go to the place appointed during the time of the treaty. This I underwrite with my hand,

J. HENDERSON.

To the Honourable Mr. Francis Pierrepont, and to our noble friend John Hutchinson, Esquire.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Your being upon the place, as it justifies you, so it may seem to lay some weight upon us. Give us leave to assure you that we are neither so uncivil to yourselves, or so careless of our country's peace, as to have made the least fail of our parts, but the truth is we received not your letter until four of the clock yesterday, the hour being one, so as at that distance there was no possibility left us either to come or to send our excuse, not being certain of your being there, and, however, certain that you would be cer-

tainly gone before we could make any address to you. Now we have thus excused ourselves, we shall send the gentleman who you pleased to propose in your letter, to you, from whom we may receive what time and place you please to appoint, which by God's leave we will not fail to attend, nor in the meantime to supplicate the great God of peace so to direct our meeting as may be to His glory, the peace of this country, in which if we be so happy for the public we shall not fail of the blessing of peace-makers. We shall trouble you no more at this time, but wait your resolutions, and rest your assured friends and servants,

CHAWORTH.
ROBERT SUTTON.
GERVASE EYRE.
JOHN MILLINGTON.

NEWARK,
December 24th, 1642.

Postscript.—Though a day's loss of time is very considerable in this great business, yet in respect to morrow is Christmas day, we shall spend it in our devotions for a blessing to our endeavours, and not send to you until Monday morning.

[*Note.*—This letter was received on Christmas day at noon.]

VII.

Letter to Lord Fairfax instructing him to guard Nottingham.

May it please your Excellence,—I am commanded by the House of Commons to represent unto you that the town of Nottingham is a piece of that importance, both in regard of the pass, being seated upon the river of Trent, and in regard of the situation in relation to the neighbouring counties,

that it much deserves your consideration for a seasonable aid and supply. And the rather in regard that at this present they are improved with strong force at Newark and Welbeck and elsewhere of malignant enemies: they themselves on the contrary are in a weak and languishing condition: it is therefore the desire of the House unto your excellence that you would be pleased to afford them what aid you in your great wisdom shall think fit for the relief of their pressing and urgent necessities.—And so I rest your very loving friend, ———.

April 29th, 1643.

Tanner MSS. vol. lxii. p. 87. (The signature of the letter is missing, and the letter is probably merely a draft of the one actually sent.)

VIII.

The rendesvous at Nottingham. May and June, 1643.

The original design was that the troops thus collected should, in response to repeated appeals, join Lord Fairfax in Yorkshire (see Lord Fairfax's letter in Rushworth and the Fairfax Correspondence). But directly they came together, Hotham and the other commanders began to hesitate and raise objections to the plan of marching unto Yorkshire, (see the two letters of May 24th and June 2d from the commanders at Nottingham in the Fairfax Correspondence). Cromwell, who was eager to carry out a scheme which might have anticipated Marston Moor, was in desperate straits for want of money to pay and clothe his men, and obliged also to act with the other four commanders. Whilst they still lingered at Nottingham, uncertain whether to join Fairfax or not, Lord Gray took the opportunity of attacking Wiverton House. The siege is thus described in Mrs. Hutchinson's Note-Book:—"There is a house of my Lord

Chaworth's in the Vale called Wiverton House, this place the enemy had possessed and fortified, and done more mischief to Nottingham, by plundering passengers, market folks, and carriers, than ever Newark did. My Lord Gray with all the force, which was at that time about 5000, went against that house, and beat them from their outworks, but left the house and marched another way. Yet within a day or two returned again to it, and planted their cannon against it within pistol shot, and were resolved to lie there that night, but news was brought that all Newcastle's force was marched out with Newark, which news, though Major Ireton told my Lord that it would be a great deed of dishonour to him to retreat, and that they were there able to fight with them if they should come, yet they all drew off and returned to Nottingham." The Memoirs mention also that battle was offered by the enemy and refused. This incident is thus described in the letter of the five commanders, dated June 2d :—"Tuesday last there was towards fifty troops of horse and dragooners appeared in a body some four miles from this place; and we hear behind them stood their foot. We drew out to fight them; but they had chosen such a ground as we could not come to them without great disadvantage. At night they drew away and are still within six or seven miles, hovering up and down the country" (Fairfax Correspondence, Civil Wars, i. 46). The queen's march to Newark, at which place she arrived on June 16th, led finally, with the consent of Fairfax, to the abandonment of the march unto Yorkshire. It became an object of the first importance to prevent her joining the king; meanwhile Hotham's conduct had become too suspicious to be left unnoticed. Mrs. Hutchinson's Note-Book gives rather a fuller and more detailed account of the charges against him than the printed Memoirs, but they agree in all important points. Hotham was arrested on June 18th, escaped almost immediately, and wrote on the 24th of June to the Speaker

from Lincoln complaining of the treatment he had received. From Lincoln he went to his father at Hull, where both were seized and made prisoners on June 28th. For the charges against Hotham see the "Commons Journals" of June 21, "Rushworth," part iii. vol. ii. pp. 799–800, and the letters in Sanford's "Studies and Illustrations," pp. 552–556.

On June 21, according to Dugdale's Diary, the queen's forces attacked the parliamentary troops. According to the statement of "Mercurius Aulicus" they took eighty prisoners and killed fifty, "though with the loss of a noble gentleman who was the Baron of Donaw in Germany, who was slain with a piece of their great ordnance." This "Baron of Donaw," or "Baron Done," as Dugdale calls him, is evidently Mrs. Hutchinson's Duke of Vendome's son, which is probably a mistake for Von Dohna (see Brown's "Annals of Newark," p. 167). The queen finally gave up the idea of forcing her way through the enemy at Nottingham. On Tuesday, June 27th, she wrote to the king from Newark announcing her intention of marching on Friday ("Rushworth," v. 274), and on the 2d of July she took Burton, and so made her way to Oxford, which she entered on the 14th. The dispersion of the troops at Nottingham must also have taken place at the end of June, for it is notified in "Mercurius Aulicus" for July 4th. It is there said that Meldrum, with 1500 foot and seven troops of horse and dragooners, was left in command at Nottingham.

IX.

Colonel Hutchinson's quarrel with Sir Roger Cooper.

Some days before Sir Roger Cooper had written a letter to Mr. Wightman, Master of the Ordnance, who was his nephew, wherein upon no occasion he had railed most

bitterly against the whole committee, and given them most unworthy terms and speeches, which the governor, taking himself to have interest in, after they had done speaking with Major Cartwright about my Lord Newcastle, took exception to take notice of, and desired Major Cartwright to ask from him that cuckoldy ass Sir Roger Cooper, what he had to do to abuse honester men than himself, as he had done the committee of Nottingham in his letter to his nephew, and said that he believed the letter was indited by that cowardly conceited fellow his brother, himself not having sense enough to write it, which words Cartwright told Sir Roger Cooper, who some time after sent the governor a challenge to meet him in single duel, but the governor sent him another letter to tell him, that if he had not known him too much taken up with the service of the state, to mend such an inconsiderable thing as he was, he durst not have written him a challenge; that when the state was quiet, and he had no better quarrel to venture his life in, it would be time to satisfy him—that if he, or any of his cavalier party, would come to Nottingham castle, he should there receive the chastisement of his folly.—Mrs. Hutchinson's Note Book, British Museum, Additional MSS., 25,901.

X.

For our honoured friend Gilbert Millington, Esq.

SIR,—We have been acquainted with a letter written by Lieutenant-colonel Hutchinson (now governor of this castle), whereby he declareth how himself and this committee are straitened and deprived of that liberty they formerly enjoyed with their families in the town; for when our horse dragoons and some foot were drawn out into Lincolnshire, and but two companies left in town (not able

to defend it), and many of those soldiers so ill affected that some are since gone to the enemy, and the greatest part of the town so malignant, that they were ready to deliver up the town to the enemy, had he made any attempt upon it, we durst no longer hazard ourselves there, the watches and guard being so neglected by the soldiery for want of pay, but were forced to remove into the castle, and dispose of our wives and families elsewhere. We have great cause to second his motion for a table at the public charge, we having hitherto sustained our wives and families out of our own estates, more than any committee in England have done besides ourselves (as we verily believe). We have had our houses and grounds plundered abroad in the country, and almost all we have taken away because we are engaged in this service here. We are but five or six of us, and a table for so many, with some few officers besides, will not much burthen the country, the charge of the whole garrison being now contracted into a narrow compass. We would not presume to erect a table of ourselves, without the approbation of that honourable assembly, though there be precedent for it not far from us. We purpose to be as thrifty as it may be possible, so that the charge of it will not be considerable; it will afford us some conveniency, which is the thing first moved us to it, and we humbly conceive it not to be unreasonable.

Sir, we have hitherto been burthened with great and chargeable work for fortification of the town and otherwise, and having of a long time had no horse or dragoons to fetch in means to defray those charges, or for the pay of our soldiers, are now into arrear with them. If you would therefore be pleased to move the House for some money to be allowed us from them, though it were but £500, we never yet having received one penny from the parliament (though more active than some who have wasted vast sums and done no great service to the public), we should then

hope with God's assistance to defend this town and castle (though we have not above three hundred soldiers), and be able to render a good account of the trust reposed in us.

Which favours, Sir, we earnestly crave from you, whose former readiness to do us good, doth still embolden us to cast ourselves upon your further care of us.—Your faithful, thankful servants,

FRANCIS THORNHAGH.
GEORGE HUTCHINSON.
JOSEPH WIDMERPOOLE.
T. SALUSBURY.

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE,
26th August 1643.

The original of this letter is in the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library, vol. lxii. p. 295.

The letter was read in the House of Commons on the 5th September, and the request of the committee granted.—Commons Journals.

XI.

Quarrel between the committees of Derby and Nottingham.

Derby at that time being in great danger they sent hither for powder; two of the committee with two troops of horse came to borrow and convoy it, but their request for ten barrels of powder being so unreasonable a demand out of the store of our poor castle, the governor told them that to spare any of their magazine in such an extremity as this was a thing that no wise man would do, but their demand of so many barrels was as much as they could have expected from any magazine in the kingdom, yet so much respect he had to them that what could possibly be spared out of the store of the castle should be allowed them, whereupon hav-

ing spoken with the Master of the Magazine he told them they should have four barrels, but they in a great chafe at it flung out of the room, and went to Sir Thomas Fairfax into the Vale. Yet the next day returning they were something more calm and came and desired five barrels, which the governor having more respect unto the public good than to their frowardness allowed to them, but Sir John Gell was very angry they had not their full demand, and from that time grew into a little more strangeness with the governor and committee of Nottingham, and they were not so much troubled with his letters as before.—Note-Book, p. 36.

XII.

A discovery of the treacherous attempts of the Cavaliers to have procured the betraying of Nottingham Castle, expressed in a letter sent to Mr. Millington, and four more at the same time.

SIR,—I have thrice been tempted upon the offers of great rewards and honours, to betray this castle. The first was by Sir Richard Biron, another by Mr. Sutton, both which I acquainted the committee withal, and returned scornful refusals unto; but now being this third time solicited unto it, I thought it my duty to acquaint those that have here entrusted me, both for their satisfaction and my own discharge, if anything should happen to my prejudice hereafter: for I expect that now they see their attempts in this kind fruitless, they will as basely endeavour to blemish with false aspersions that honesty which with bribes they cannot corrupt; be pleased therefore to understand the whole proceeding of this last offer, and the occasion, which was this. Colonel Dacre, one which was formerly in the north a familiar friend and acquaintance of my brother's, sent to me to

desire that he might have the liberty to see him, to which with the knowledge of the committee I gave consent; and then being in his company, he desired some words in private with my brother, pretending a desire to be satisfied in some doubts of his concerning this war; but some accidents then falling out, he was prevented of that private conference, and therefore desired that my brother some two days after would come to his quarters; but he, to prevent all suspicions, would not go, but writ him a denial: after which Colonel Dacre writ very earnestly to him to come again, and invited Captain Poulton to come with him; but my brother would not, only with the leave of the committee he sent Captain Poulton to excuse it,.of whose going we intended to make such use, as, if we could, to discover how the enemy lay, and what their intentions were. So soon as he came thither he was most kindly entertained, and Colonel Dacre taking him aside, told him, that now the governor of Nottingham and his brother had an occasion offered to gain themselves great honour, to do the king very good service, and to receive a great recompense for so doing; which he demanding how that was, the colonel told him, that if I would deliver up the castle, the command of it should be confirmed to me and my heirs, I should receive ten thousand pound, and be well assured of it before ever I delivered the castle, and that I should be made the best Lord in Nottinghamshire, that my brother should have three thousand pound to deliver the bridges, and that Captain Poulton should have two thousand pound to get this effected; to which Captain Poulton answered, that he thought it was an impossible thing, for the governor had formerly been tempted with such like offers and had refused them, that we all scorned so base an act, and for his own part, he would starve and rot before he would betray his trust. The colonel was further importunate with him, to move it to me, and "that you may," saith he, "be better assured I do not this without commission,"

he then pulled out of his pocket a paper written with these words, or to this effect—"These are to authorise Col. Dacre to treat with Col. Hutchinson and Lieutenant-colonel Hutchinson, for the surrendering up of the castle and bridges of Nottingham for the service of his majesty, and to make them large promises which shall be performed," and this paper signed with W. Newcastle at the bottom: and he further desired that he might but come to the castle to speak with me. When Captain Poulton told him there was no hope of obtaining that, he entreated him that he would but deliver the message to me, which he told him he would do; and the colonel told him, that if I would not deliver the castle, yet if he himself would but leave us, and come away, he should immediately have a regiment of horse delivered into his command; and earnestly pressed that I would send him an answer: which presently after both my brother and I did, the copies whereof I have here sent you. There were also two officers of Captain White's troop, whom we sent along with Captain Poulton, whom Colonel Dacre also took aside, and made large offers,[1] both to Captain White, and them, if they would procure him to turn to their side. But Captain White hath so often scorned and refused such unworthy offers, that this did but increase his contempt of them, whose faith and honesty hath been apparently great in this cause.

I confess, had it not been for drawing a scandal or jealousy on myself, I would have gone so far as to have gotten the propositions under Col. Dacre his hand, if not under the Marquess his hand; but this I durst not do, lest my own honest intentions should in the mean time have been mistaken: I therefore thought it sufficient to make it known to the committee, and so to acquaint you with it, and withal

[1] The offers to Captain White were 10,000 li. and 100 to his officers to procure it.—(Marginal note in Vicars.)

to assure you, that were I certain we should utterly be deserted and left (as, for any relief I yet hear of, we are like to be, our soldiers being thirty weeks behind with pay, and the whole country now possessed by the enemy), yet I would maintain my faithfulness to the parliament so long as I have one drop of blood left in me: and when I am forced to the last extremity, I am confident God will give me strength to maintain this Christian resolution, that I have by covenant both with God and man bound myself unto; which is that I will rather choose to die ten thousand deaths with a clear conscience to God, and an honest heart to my county, than sell my soul for the purchase of my life, and all the wealth and honours this world can bestow upon me. Your sons are both well here in the castle, and I hear your wife is so in the county; only I hear your goods and corn are wholly plundered. What service I am able to do for you here, if you please, you may command.—Your friend and servant, JOHN HUTCHINSON.

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE,
December 18th, 1643.

Postscript.—Sir, just as my letters were going to Colonel Dacre, there came one from him to Captain Poulton; the copy of which, with Captain Poulton's answer, I have here also sent you—the original I preserve by me as a testimony of their unworthy proffers.

To Colonel Dacre.

SIR,—You have now convinced me of an error. I once thought it possible that some rash misled young men might still among the Cavaliers have retained a sense of gallantry and honour, though no religion, and have been enriched with those moral virtues which made the heathen famous; such a one I believed you to be; but since you did attempt to buy me

to so great a villany, as you did in your late propositions by Captain Poulton, I must needs be persuaded you would never offer me what you yourself would not have done. 'Tis, I confess, strange to me you could imagine, that a Christian, a gentleman, or a Commonwealth's-man could ever prove such a villain as for a little gaudy dirt to sell his soul, his honour, and his country. Perish that most contemned gain with all that can accept or offer it! Dacre, 'twas base in you to think so of me; I am sure you cannot so misinterpret any act of mine, as to receive from it the least ground of encouragement to such an opinion; and had you known my brother, you would have thought it easier for you yourself alone to have conquered all the men now fighting in the kingdom, than to corrupt that guard of virtues which protect his constant soul from treacherous thoughts. Did you think men of sense will part with real honour for a title? you are not capable of a religious consideration, or I could tell you, that our souls (redeemed with an unvaluable price) are by you most unequally valued at a poor inconsiderable sum of money: look upon earth and give me an example where ever any traitor preserved his foul name from an horrid blot of infamy on him and on his house for ever? How can you think, he that will by you be corrupted to betray another's trust, will not by another be again corrupted to betray yours? Keep your despised coin to tempt some frail waiting-woman—it may work with her to procure such honest things as you affect; but desist these base attempts on men of noble spirits, with whom they will but render you as contemptible as your offers. Consider the unworthy message you sent, and blush at the remembrance of your guilt in it, and if you have so much worth left in you repent the injury you did to him that was your friend. Farewell that name for evermore between us, GEORGE HUTCHINSON.

TRENT BRIDGES,
December 16, 1643.

To Colonel Dacre.

"SIR,—Your propositions sent to me on Wednesday last by Captain Poulton (for which you showed him my Lord Newcastle's commission), were so unworthy of a gentleman, so wicked, and base, that once I thought in contempt and scorn to have forgotten them; yet lest my silence may receive too favourable an interpretation from you, know and tell your general that set you on this brave employment, that I abhor the thought of treason to my country, though I might thereby grow as great for wickedness as he. Tell him I'll wear no title but what my faith and virtue purchaseth, and I'll leave my children an honest, though a small inheritance, to whom my spotless name, not tainted with the foul blot of treason, shall be an ornament, when the remembrance of all treacherous apostates shall rot with infamy; and I doubt not but my gracious prince, once cured of his mistake, will reward my constant faithfulness to his regal power and parliament, with a larger recompense than he propounds for my corruption: if he do not, virtue is its own reward. Tell your most excellent general, his threats and promises are both alike contemptible to me; I fear not those and I hate these. I fight not to repair a broken fortune, but to maintain a just quarrel; in which may that man perish and fall low as the depth of hell, that can be hired to prove unfaithful. Tell him, if you dare, that it had been an employment more beseeming you, or any gentleman, had he sent you with ten thousand armed men, to assault our well-defended walls, than with so many pieces of contemned gold, to lay your siege against an honest heart. I could honour an enemy for performing brave and gallant things, but such attempts as these will render your persons as odious to all honest men, as your rebellion: and I am sorry

you should undertake such a service, as to deserve the just neglect and scorn of JOHN HUTCHINSON.

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE,
December 18, 1643.

Postscript.—Pray, sir, send me word what you should have had for the procuring this, that I may know at what rate the enemy valueth this castle.

To his truly noble friend, Captain Poulton.

NOBLE SIR,—I was in hopes to have waited on you this day, but indeed I received an express last night from my Lord General, wherein I am commanded to wait on his Excellency near Chesterfield this day. Sir, I hope you remember the business I spoke to you of when you were at my quarter; I will engage myself upon my life, that what I promised shall be really performed; if you please but to consider and truly value the business, I make no question but I may obtain my desires; which I assure you is not for any particular ends, but in the first place to serve my gracious king and then my friends, which I will assure you I shall ever esteem your lieutenant-colonel and yourself to be; desiring very much to hear from you by this bearer, wishing us all to agree, for upon my word it troubles me to think, that all honest men should not be of one side, which the Lord grant that we may all be, I remaining always, sir—
Your most humble servant, RICHARD DACRE.

WATNELL, *Friday morning,*
the 15th of December.

My humble service to my truly noble friend your lieutenant-colonel, and tell him I wish him as my own soul.

To Colonel Dacre.

SIR,—Had the Cavaliers since found out a way to perform their promises better than they did at Bristol, Gainsborough, &c., you might have had some hopes of a young man whose best fortune is his sword; but so unworthy have their dealings ever been, so little faith and honour do you give testimony of, in tempting me to act such things as gallant men would not accept, if offered, that I must tell you these unworthy ways you take to advance your cause, are but so many confirmations to me in this I do maintain against you. He that fights for honour, not for plunder, to which the Dutch prince hath well trained all your armies, would scorn to receive his enemy's fort on any conditions, but such as were purchased by his prevailing valour, not undermining treachery: to which, Sir, I am as inflexible, as you to worth and goodness. The governor I believe and his brother have returned you their answers, and you may in this receive the negative resolution of, THOMAS POULTON.

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE,
December 16, 1643.

The correspondence published in the contemporary pamphlet, and in the third part of Vicars' "Parliamentary Chronicle," is concluded in the two following letters which are to be found amongst the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library, vol. 62, p. 467.

Mr. Millington.

The messenger by whom I sent your letters staying somewhat longer than I thought he would, gave me opportunity to send you a copy of Colonel Langdale his answer to the letters we sent to Colonel Dacre, in whose absence Sir Marmaduke Langdale received, and opened, and answered

the letters, which answer may confirm you in the truth of what before was written to you, by your most affectionate friend and servant, JOHN HUTCHINSON.

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE,
December 19, 1643.

For John Hutchinson Esquire, George Hutchinson, and Thomas Poulton, these.

GENTLEMEN,—In the absence of Colonel Dacre, I have received your letters and am sorry you so much mistake Colonel Dacre his affection for you, in endeavouring to draw you from that rebellious course of life you seem to glory in. If you please to read all the histories of this nation, from the conquest to this time, and you shall find all rebels' pretences of taking up arms against the sacred person of the king varnished over with the title of love to the laws of the land, liberty of the subject and loyalty to his majesty; yea in those times when they deposed their natural prince and set up others; wherein although the event sometimes succeeded for a while, yet the authors had cause commonly to repent before their deaths; and certainly there never was yet law of this land, nor religion publicly professed here, did ever allow subjects to take up arms against their natural sovereign. For his excellency the Marquess of Newcastle, you are much mistaken in his desire to corrupt any man. I rather believe it was his affection to you, having known two of your fathers, and his desire to preserve your estates that are now in a lost condition by your own follies. For my own part, as I am not known to you, so I should never have tendered you that good offer, but will go on in that way that I doubt not shall gain the king his right forth of the usurper's hand wherever I find it, wherein you shall find a gentleman called

MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

WEST HALLAM,
December 18, 1643.

This correspondence, including the letter from Langdale, was read in the House of Commons on December 25, 1643.

"Ordered, that Mr. Millington do write a letter of thanks from this House to Colonel Hutchinson, for his fidelity to religion and the parliament; and to encourage him to persevere in his resolutions therein; and that this House will not be unmindful of so deserving a person: and that he be desired, that those records which are in Nottingham be safely kept.

"Ordered, that the Committee for the Safety do consider how the garrison in the castle of Nottingham may be supplied with all necessaries, and the care of this is especially recommended to Mr. Millington."—(Commons Journals.)

XIII.

Town meeting at Nottingham to decide the question of fortifying the town.

"The governor so soon as this was concluded on called a general and full Hall, wherein he read his commission, and desired them to choose out some men among them to come upon all occasions to consult with him in matter concerning the town, and that they might choose fit men he propounded to them two aldermen, two very honest religious men, and two neuters, rather Cavaliers than other, that so they might be pleased of all sides; but they on the contrary called to their Hall Serjeant Browne, a delinquent to the parliament, and put out these honest men, and made choice of the most malignant among them, which choice when the governor saw he sent them word that he could not accept their choice, nor yet would he do anything prejudicial or burdensome to them without their knowledge, and having called another Hall he propounded to the town whether they were willing it should be fortified or no, whereupon

they all in general voted it should be fortified, only Alderman Drury and some other few malignant inconsiderable rascals, being but a very few, voted against it. Whereupon the works were presently set out, but the governor at that meeting, after he had satisfied all their doubts and some articles which they propounded to him, told them that if they fortified the town they must beforehand weigh the danger of it, which was that if the enemy should fall in while the works were imperfect, which was much to be feared they would, they still, though something further off, continuing in the country, they would utterly spoil the town and disenable it for ever being made a garrison any more; and on the other side, if it were not fortified but lay open, then all poor tradesmen would be undone, there being no possibility of trading in the town."—MSS. Note-Book, p. 41, a-b.

A note on p. 42 gives the further information that during the fortification the horse were for a fortnight to have free quarter in the town, and after that the governor had promised they should not burthen it. He therefore in the meantime caused some certain houses to be appointed for their quarter, and a steward appointed to every house to see the diet ordered, a whole troop being to be quartered in every house.

XIV.

Letter to Mr. Millington, January 3, 1644.

SIR,—Though I had not in my letter to you any aim to be made so public as I now am, but only to clear myself from all blemishes which my concealing those offers might have made me capable of, yet I think myself happy that by this means the House hath been pleased to take notice of this poor neglected garrison, which if the enemy could get

into their possession you may perceive they would make much account of it; but I shall endeavour, so far as God enable me, to preserve it from them, and if in this low condition we are now reduced to we might receive some assistance to re-establish this place in a posture of defence, it would be a great encouragement both to the commander and soldiers. I am now making the works, but if I cannot procure money to pay the garrison, poverty will make us unable to defend them. I have now in this castle five full companies of foot in pay, besides two which are raising in the town and two more in the country which I am confident will speedily be raised; here is also four hundred horse and more raising, but I assure you these that are raised in so lamentable a condition, that they have not money to shoe their horses, and the foot so miserably poor, being plundered of all they have, that they are almost naked for want of clothes, and those which have families see their wives and children ready to perish for want. The country is on the north side plundered by my Lord Newcastle's forces, and so oppressed on the other side by Newark, Wiverton, Shelford, and Belvoir, all in the enemy's hand, that it can withal scarcely provision to supply the garrison if we had a force able to command it. Myself and the rest of the committee have been so plundered in our estates, which now remain in the enemy's possession, our engagements and layings out above our abilities so great, that both our purses and credits are quite exhausted; nor did we who are commanders and gentlemen of this county ever yet receive a farthing of pay. Sir, it concerns me as having this garrison in my charge to acquaint you with the condition of it, and if the House would but now please to look upon it and afford us some supply of monies answerable to our great necessities in any reasonable proportion, I hope by God's assistance we shall give a good account of it; if it were possible to obtain two thousand pounds we should I hope be in such a condition as we should not need to crave

assistance again. We never yet received any, although places of less consequence have had as large a proportion, but our extremities are so great that whatever the parliament please to think us worthy of would be most exceeding welcome to us. Sir, I know your affections are so good, and your care so great and tender of us, that I need not press you to use your best endeavours for us; if you can procure us any money it will exceedingly oblige your country to you and encourage the languishing hopes of your assured friend and servant,

JOHN HUTCHINSON.

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE,
January 3rd, 1644.

[Tanner MSS. lxvi. 224, where the letter is misdated 1641.]

This letter was read in the House of Commons on January 15th, 1644, and it was ordered "that the monies coming from the excise arising within the town of Nottingham and county of the same, be allowed and designed upon account for the maintenance of the garrison in the castle and town of Nottingham, and that it be referred to the commissioners of excise to take care herein."

XV.

Account of a skirmish in January 1644.

At the time that Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded out the troop there came a woman with a note to the governor from Sir Miles Hubbard, intimating a design he had to fall upon Newark, and desiring that Nottingham and Derby with all the horse and dragoons they could make would fall upon Muscam and Kellam bridges and break them up to prevent any assistance from coming to them on this side. Between Nottingham and Derby there were about 800 or

1000 horse and dragoons prepared ready for the design, and the plot was laid and all things necessary for the design made ready, and it was given out that they went to Winkfield Manor. The horse were marched out and the dragoons horsed to follow them, when the gentlewoman came again from Sir Miles Hubbard to let the governor know that Newark had surprised 300 of their horse so that the design could not go forward at that time, whereupon the governor dismissed most of the dragoons, and sent to the horse that they should go to Mansfield to gather a cessment (ceazement) there and to Derby men that the design held not. The horse went to Mansfield but did not gather their cessment, and Captain White sent that night a messenger to the governor to desire him to send some dragoons and some carts to fetch away my Lord Biron's goods at Newstead, which he did, and there the horse met them and came along homeward with them, but when they were within four or five miles of home the horse came all away except about forty, whom they left with the dragoons and carriages: there were when they were together between five and six hundred horse and dragoons, but they had not left above six score with the carriages and most of them dragoons without so much as a captain with them, and in the evening as they were at Bescod Park a hundred of the enemy's horse fell into their rear-guard, but the dragoons got behind the pale and shot at them, and killed four of them dead upon the place. As the soldiers were stripping two of the slain Colonel Frecheville charged rashly among them, and was engaged so that he had been taken prisoner, if his captain-lieutenant had not ridden in and rescued him, who was himself made a prisoner for his pains. Sir Henry Humlock was wounded in the arm, and Frecheville cut in the hand. Some of our horse by this time were returned to them, which when the Cavaliers saw, without stop or stay they ran as fast as they could.

they had buried in the field before they had entered the town; we traced them two miles in the snow by much blood which we found spilt, and we hear that they left dead and wounded men in the towns as they passed. I do not perceive that we have any prisoners above the quality of a captain-lieutenant, but the reason is, because the commanders ran away in such haste, that they left their own and got troopers' horses, and took no care of their men, but left them without command, being happy who could first scape away. We lost not all this day but one man slain, and two or three wounded. At last the enemy rallied in a valley about a mile from the town (where they had a body of horse which never came into the town); we faced one another, but we, finding their body so much exceeding all our force, would not hazard the whole garrison upon such unequal terms; towards night the enemy marched away to their several garrisons. Col. Cartwright had his horse killed under him with a cannon bullet; they say (but I am not certain) that he himself is shot. That you may know their devilishness, give me leave to acquaint you with their design as it was related to us. They were resolved to have surprised us this morning by two of the clock, but the bitterness of the snowy weather which fell hindered so speedy a march of their foot as they expected; therefore, failing of that, their further design was, to try if they could get the town, which if they could, they then resolved to summon the castle, and if they could neither win nor have it delivered up, they resolved to plunder, and then fire the town. To this purpose and with these threats they had prepared a letter to send me, and when they could find none that would venture to carry it, they seized on Mr. Majores, and would with many threats have compelled him to carry it to me; one clause of it was that if I would not send them the mayor and aldermen, nor deliver the castle, they would proceed to plunder and fire. Before Mr. Majores was well out of doors with his letter, there

was so quick and unexpected an answer sent them by four hundred musketeers, which sallied out upon them, that they were in too great haste to take with them the plunder of the town, so that in that respect the town escaped well and lost nothing of value; we must acknowledge it was a wonderful mercy of God that it escaped firing, for they cast a many coals of fire amongst a great deal of hay, in Captain White's quarters, and laid fire to divers houses, and had prepared divers gorse bushes to fire, and shot muskets and pistols into the thatch of houses as they passed by, and into barns, but God preserved us from all these dangers, so that though the fire was found, half an hour after they were gone, quick in the hay, yet there was not so much as a smoke in the town. The number of these forces were (as near as we could guess, or find out by the prisoners), 1500 horse and foot, being all the force that could be gathered together from Newark, Sir Charles Lucas, Colonel Fretchvile, with other forces drawn from Bolsover, and Welbeck, and Shelford: they faced us on the other side of the Trent with between two and three hundred horse and dragoons which came from Hastings, Belvoir, and Wiverton. By this you may see how we are straitened and how over potent our enemies are, and you may imagine how impossible it is for this poor garrison to subsist without some relief of money to encourage our soldiers, and, the truth is, to make them able to live to do the public service. Therefore, Sir, I beseech you, prosecute my desires in my last letter to you as the greatest service you can do your country and obligation you can lay on your loving friend and servant, J. H.

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE,
January 6, 1643.

In all this day's service we had not any assistance from the townsmen (besides those which have all this year been in the castle with me), though I had twice summoned them

to receive arms for the defence of the town, but could not persuade them to do it; but now I am in some hopes that they will by this be brought to concur more cheerfully with me for their own defence, and that the Cavaliers (though they have no cause to brag of this) will more dearly buy their next entrance. I hear since that most of the enemy's foot are run away, which were about five or six hundred; all their foot flung their arms away, that they might run the lighter.

Sir, since I writ this letter I am certainly informed that there are above a hundred Cavaliers lying dead in Thornleigh and Sansom woods, and Nottingham coppice, the weather being so sharp that their wounds bled to death, and some of them starved with cold, and we have since found many of them dead in the town that were wounded, and hid themselves in houses, and there bled to death; they have left many wounded all along the towns as they dispersed themselves to their several garrisons from whence they came. The greatness of their loss is more than yet we can discover, and what I related to you is less than we know to be true. We have some prisoners that were in the parliament's service in Ireland, and are now taken with the enemy; I desire to know the pleasure of the House concerning them—whether they shall be tried by a council of war, as runaways, or exchanged, because it may be our fortune to meet with more considerable men of the same kind.—Your servant, J. H.

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE,
January 17, 164$\frac{3}{4}$.

On January 26th, 164$\frac{3}{4}$, this letter was read in the House of Commons, and it was ordered "that a thousand pound shall be borrowed from the monies that come in upon the sequestrations and employed for the service of Nottingham garrison, and paid to Mr. Millington, or such as he shall appoint to receive the same, after that the monies

assigned to Sir Thomas Middleton and the Earl of Denbigh out of the sequestrations shall be satisfied and complied with." Mr. Millington was at the same time desired to write and inquire about the prisoners taken, who had come out of Ireland.—(Journals of the House of Commons.) Mrs. Hutchinson blames Mr. Millington because the money never came. The cause of this, however, was not his negligent prosecution, but the precedent conditions on which the grant was made to depend.

To our much honoured friend, Gilbert Millington, Esquire, one of the Members of the House of Commons.

SIR,—In expression of our thankfulness to God for His great deliverance to this garrison, we desire to communicate to yourself, and to our friends, in what manner the Lord of Hosts was pleased to manifest Himself in our preservation (even miraculously) from the bloody hands of a cruel and merciless enemy, entreating you to join with us in returning prayers (praise?) to his sacred name.

Sir, we drew forth the last week to meet Derby forces upon a design, which failing, we marched to Mansfield, and in our retreat we sequestered some of the goods of the Lord Biron's at Newstead; whereof Colonel Fretchvile, and Colonel Humblock having notice, they being then plundering about Felley, with three troops fell upon us in our retreat; but our horse and dragoons facing about, engaged them, and we took one Jammot, a Wallon, captain-lieutenant or major to Colonel Fretchvile, with three more; killed one lieutenant and a cornet with some others; wounded both the colonels, with many more, and but two men of ours wounded, whereof one died since. In revenge whereof, on Tuesday morning last, the enemy gave us an alarum, and about seven of the clock approached near the town, and being betwixt two and three thousand

horse and foot, beat in our men, and the fortifications of the town being imperfect entered it, and forced our horse and foot into the castle; we then immediately put muskets into the hands of our troopers, and by them and some foot, possessed ourselves of some houses, which played into the market-place, and some other parts of the town; then we sallied out with most of our foot, considering, if we did not make a desperate adventure, we were in a great hazard; so we fell upon the enemy in several houses, killed divers of them in the streets, in which God's great power did wonderfully appear, for in one house three or four of our men took sixteen, and in another, two took six, and the like was done in divers places, whereby it pleased God to strike the enemy with such a terror, that they presently fled, and we pursuing them out of the works, took about eighty prisoners, about two hundred arms, killed above twenty in the town, besides many who died in the retreat, as we hear above fifty, and very many ran from their colours, and some came to us with their arms, in all (according to our intelligence), the enemy lost near three hundred men and arms; in which service we lost but one boy, two were slightly wounded, and not one taken prisoner.

Sir Charles Lucas, who reports himself general of this county, and Lincolnshire, did draw what force he could from Pontefract, Wingfield Manor, Bolsover, Welbeck, Ashby, Belvoir, Newark, Wiverton, and Shelford. Thus they conspired our destruction, their plot being, to enter the town, and to summon the castle, and if that was not yielded, to plunder the town and fire it; which accordingly they attempted, for they put burning coals, lighted match, and shot their muskets and pistols into the hay, in Captain White's quarters and divers other places, but through God's mercy the fire did not take anywhere.

This is a true relation of the passages, although sundry reports are given out by the enemy which we know to be

various and false, as that the town did give them three or four thousand pounds to quit it, and that they lost but three men, and that they were commanded away by several packets, and others of the like nature; yet some of their commanders who were ingenuous, did at Southwell, upon their retreat, confess, that they had been upon most designs with Prince Rupert, yet did never see hotter service, nor more execution done with ordnance. We having this experience of God's dealing with us, hope it will encourage us, and all others engaged in this cause, to continue faithful to Him, which is and ever shall be, the prayers of us, Sir, your faithful servants,

JOHN HUTCHINSON.
GEORGE HUTCHINSON.
JOSEPH WIDMERPOOLE.
CHARLES WHITE.
THOMAS SALUSBURY.

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE,
the 20th of January, 1643.

We are credibly informed since the writing hereof, that Colonel Eyre of Hassop was slain, one Captain Cartwright is not yet heard of, and Lieutenant-colonel Cartwright and some other commanders wounded.

XVII.

The Earl of Clare prepares to make his peace with the Parliament.

The Earl of Clare sent to the governor privately by Mr. West to excuse his passion to him when he was in town, and to tell him it was much for his advantage, for if he had been more familiarly entertained the enemy was resolved

to have taken him, hearing that he was returning to the parliament; and as a matter of great trust acquainted the governor that he had an intent to go immediately to London, but that he had some things of value which he desired to secure in this garrison, and for that purpose wanting trunks he desired leave to carry some out of my lady's house in this town, which he said he would convey privately back again with all the best things he had, and desired that Hooper might build a room for them at his own charge in the castle, with other contrivances that he had to carry his daughter to London and to get thither himself; which the governor hearing was very willing to consent to, but that being to have been done within two or three days the governor heard no more of him.—Note-Book, 54–6.

XVIII.

Capture of King's Mills.

"Upon the melting of the snow there being a great flood, the horse went out with a design to pull down Muscam and Kellam bridges, but it was discovered to the enemy over night, so that the design was prevented, but they went to Aram grounds, and brought away 60 fat oxen of Sir Richard Biron's and Mr. Sutton's and about 100 horse. The next week Sir John Gell sent to borrow all the horse which were sent to him, but Colonel Thornhagh being sent for by Sir John Meldrum went himself to Gainsborough. The horse that were at Derby marched out with Sir John Gell, but they both lost themselves all night, whereupon that design was broke. Yet the horse went with Sir John Gell to King's Millnes, hard by Wilden Ferry, where there is a very strong house, wherein the enemy kept garrison,

against which Sir John Gell had planted his ordnance on the other side the river, where his foot also were, but his horse and ours were all on the same side the house stood. The weather being very tempestuous they resolved to finish it at once, and thereupon drew out five men out of every troop to begin the assault, these five of every troop made thirty in all; they had attempted, but fruitlessly, to fire the house, so these thirty men in the night got over their works, and slided down the bank, which was very steep, till they came just under the walls, which when they within the house perceived they called for a parley, and desired to march out with bag and baggage, but the soldiers would grant them no conditions but to yield to their mercy, so when they were just about to open the door by force, the soldiers within the house let them in and yielded themselves, there being in the house forty-seven, a captain, a lieutenant, and two more officers.

"The captain that kept the house was Captain Daniel, uncle to Captain White's lieutenant, who desired of Sir John Gell that he might bring him and his lieutenant to Nottingham, which Sir John Gell condescended unto."—Note-Book, p. 47 a–b.

XIX.

Attempt to surprise Nottingham, February 17, 1644.

"The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer," February 20, 27, 164$\frac{3}{4}$, contains the following:—"For the plot to betray the garrison at Nottingham it hath been already in part related. I shall only add some part of a letter from the valiant gentleman the governor of Nottingham, dated the 18th of February, 1643, subscribed J. H., in these words:—

"'Sir, this day God hath wrought for us a great deliver-

ance from a design the enemy had against our bridges, which are the very key of our garrison; this being the market day, Shelford and Wiverton had chosen out thirty of their men who in disguises should come like women and market people, and with long knives, daggers, hatchets, and such kind of weapons as they had hid under their clothes, seize on the guards, and given a shout just when they had done, and then the rest of their horse and foot should have fallen on with those in the disguises, should have murdered the men at the bridge, and seized upon the gates next the town. But I, having notice of this plot, sent over night to the lieutenant-colonel to be very careful, and in the morning gave order that all the horse and foot should be gotten ready, but drew them not out, because the enemy should have no knowledge of my warning. My brother set out the sentries beyond the bridge and took the first twelve with their weapons, which were upon the bridge and should first have fallen upon the guards. Our horse went out after, but the enemy perceiving the bustling at the bridge when the first were taken, ran away; and in pursuit our men took nine more, and drove nine of them into the Trent with their captain; the captain escaped, but five of them were drowned, and three taken.'"

An account of this incident, rather different in the details, is given by Vicars, "Parliamentary Chronicle," part iii., p. 163.

END OF VOL. I.

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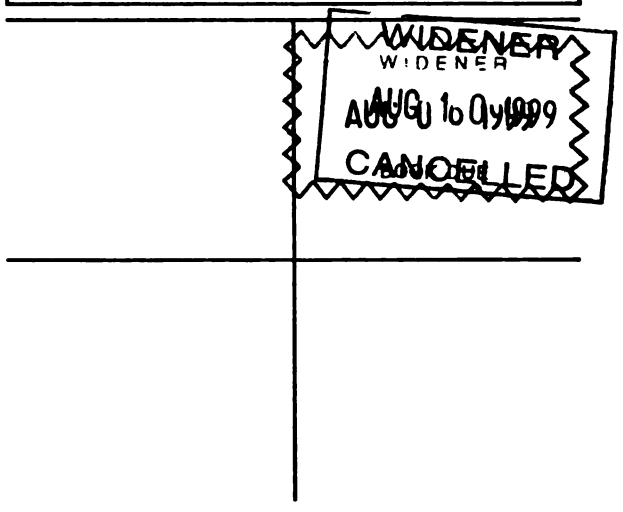

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